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ABSTRACT

This packet contains student materials and a teacher's resource book. The materials present students with many of the same questions vexing U.S. policy makers in their dealings with China. Students explore background materials and debate policy options as to what relations with China should be. The student booklet contains background essays for students on: (1) "The History of U.S.-Chinese Relations"; (2) "China's Transformation"; and (3) "The U.S.-Chinese Agenda." Students are then presented policy options as to what the relationship with China should be. Options include: (1) "Press for Democratic Values"; (2) "Promote Stability and Trade"; (3) "Tame the Dragon"; and (4) "Keep Our Distance." Supplementary documents and suggested reading conclude the booklet. The teacher's resource book suggests a 5-day lesson plan and contains the day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. An alternative 3-day lesson plan is provided. (EH)

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CHOICES FOR THE 21st CENTURY

China On The World Stage: Weighing The U.S. Response

SO029055

ALTERNATIVES FOR PUBLIC DEBATE AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies

Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912

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CHOICES

for the 21st Century Education Project

February 1996

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the **Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies** at Brown University.

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The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

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Part I: The History of U.S.-Chinese Relations

In the late 1970s, China was beginning to emerge from three decades of economic isolation imposed by Mao Ze-dong, the leader of China's communist revolution. Mao's policies had produced a society in which equality and uniformity were highly valued. China was able to feed and clothe its population, the largest in the world, but there were few opportunities for individual advancement.

At the time of Mao's death in 1976, Li Xiao-hua was a peasant working on a state-run wheat farm in northern China. Like millions of his countrymen, Li closely followed the struggle for power among China's political elite that followed Mao's death. He was pleased when Deng Xiao-ping emerged at the head of China's Communist Party, and he supported Deng's program of economic reform.

Today, Li is a symbol of China's transformation since the late 1970s. Li drives around Beijing, China's capital, in a red Ferrari. He has become a multi-millionaire real-estate developer, monitoring his business empire with computers, fax machines, and cellular phones.

Mao would be stunned. The China he left behind strictly forbade private enterprise. Private cars were unheard-of too. As late as 1981, only twenty people in Beijing owned their own vehicles. The China that Deng and Li have helped to create now has roughly 2 million private cars, with another 8 million automobiles belonging to either business enterprises or the government. Demand for cars is forecast to approach 3 million a year by 2000.

The vast majority of China's 1.2 billion people remain poor by American standards, but the pace of economic reform has turned China into an economic giant. China's economy is comparable in size to that of Japan, placing it second or third in the world. (The U.S. economy is in the top spot, over twice as large as the economy of either China or Japan.) In the last sixteen years, China's economic growth has averaged 9 percent annually. No major country in modern times has grown so fast for such a long period. If present trends continue, China will overtake the United States as the world's leading economic producer by 2020.

China's transformation is changing international relations almost as fast as it is changing the lives of the Chinese people. For much of human history, China has been the richest, most powerful country in the world. During the 19th and early 20th centuries, however, China fell behind the rapidly industrializing countries of Europe, the United States, and Japan, and suffered from foreign domination. Today, China is again reasserting its influence in world affairs. Just as the 1900s have been referred to as the "American century," the year 2000 may mark the beginning of the "Chinese century."

The implications for the United States are enormous. Americans have already felt the impact of China's economic boom. China was our country's fourth-largest trading partner in 1994 (following Canada, Japan, and Mexico). Chinese-made clothing, shoes, and toys fill American stores, while China has become an important customer for our country's aircraft and telecommunications industries. At the same time, disputes over China's failure to accept international trade standards and Beijing's poor human rights record have frequently threatened to boil over into a trade war.

Of perhaps greater significance for the future is China's place on the world stage. Under communist rule, China has built up the world's largest army in terms of manpower while holding down spending on high-tech equipment. China's defense budget still amounts to one-tenth of the U.S. level, but in recent years purchases of new weapons have risen sharply. Moreover, China has pressed ahead with plans to modernize its nuclear arsenal. U.S. officials fear that the coming generation of Chinese leaders may seek to flex China's military muscle in East Asia and beyond.

The outlook for U.S.-Chinese relations is also complicated by China's internal problems. Politically, China is about to undergo a crucial change in leadership. Deng Xiao-ping, the ruling figure in China since 1978, is 91 years old. Several strong candidates have emerged to succeed Deng, and the contest for power is expected to intensify after Deng's death. Among the contenders for the leadership position are officials

who may seek to stop economic reform and take a more hostile stance toward the United States.

China's economic future is uncertain too. Rapid growth has overheated the economy, triggering a new round of inflation. Sharp divisions have opened up in society, pitting the rich against the poor, city dwellers against farmers, and the prosperous southeastern coast against the struggling interior. The central government is burdened by huge state-run enterprises that employ tens of millions of workers, while its control over the private sector of the economy continues to slip. Even many successful Chinese businessmen worry that the current economic boom will not last.

In this unit, you will have an opportunity to reflect on our country's relationship with the China of tomorrow. The topic requires attention to both the immediate challenges before us and the direction of U.S.-Chinese relations over the long term. For the moment, trade disputes, China's position in East Asia, the status of Hong Kong and Taiwan, and the control of nuclear arms are featured in the daily headlines. But what about U.S.-Chinese relations in the next century? To begin with, how should Americans view China — as a valued trading partner, as a rival superpower, as a source of instability and conflict? Since the end of the Cold War against the Soviet Union, this question has moved toward the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda.

The background reading has been designed to help you reach your own conclusions about U.S.-Chinese relations. Part I reviews the history of America's interaction with China. Part II explores the economic, social, and political transformation of China since the late 1970s. Finally, Part III introduces you to the issues that will shape our country's policy toward China.

A Meeting of Opposites

The Chinese have historically called their country the "Middle Kingdom" and have considered themselves at the center of civilization. Until the 1800s, this view of China's 5,000-year history was largely justified. Chinese culture was unmatched in its continuity and refinement. The Chinese system of government was remarkable for its ability to maintain order, manage an efficient bureaucracy, and build roads, bridges, and canals over a vast empire.

At the time Columbus was exploring the Americas, China seemed poised to move on to still greater accomplishments. The Chinese were responsible for many of the most important inventions of the modern age — the compass, printing, and gunpowder among them. Chinese ships in the late 15th century were superior to those being produced in Europe, and Chinese sea captains were expanding China's trade ties throughout Asia. Moreover, China's unified empire stood in sharp contrast to the feuding kingdoms of Europe.

But as Europe turned outward to conquer new territories and probe the frontiers of science, China turned inward. China remained a country of rich traditions and great wealth, but the Chinese cut themselves off from the extraordinary advances occurring in Western Europe.

Led by the British and the French, European merchants began visiting China regularly in the 1700s. Chinese officials initially paid little attention to the traders. They viewed all outsiders as uncivilized "barbarians" and assumed that there was nothing the

Reprinted from *Barbarians and Mandarins*

Foreign officials paying tribute to the Chinese emperor.

Chinese could learn from them. Chinese goods — silk, porcelain, furniture, artwork, and especially tea — were highly valued in Europe and the American colonies. The tea that American patriots dumped into the sea at the Boston Tea Party in 1773 was, in fact, from China.

> *The kings of the myriad nations come by land and sea with all sorts of precious things. Consequently, there is nothing we lack.*
>
> *—Emperor Qian-long*

To gain access to Chinese products, the European traders were willing to allow the Chinese authorities to set the rules of commerce. The emperor of China's Manchu (or Qing) dynasty refused to consider a treaty with the countries of the West. The Europeans also faced a financial problem. The growing demand for Chinese tea in the West was not matched by a rise in European exports to China. European reserves of silver were being drained to pay for Chinese products. The European traders needed something to sell to the Chinese. In the early 1800s, they increasingly turned to opium, a drug that was produced in British colonies on the Indian subcontinent.

The Opium War

Opium, which is the basis for heroin, brought enormous profits to the European traders. By the end of the 1830s, millions of Chinese were addicted and China was running a trade deficit with the West. Chinese authorities tried to stop the opium trade by force and rejected British appeals for negotiations. In response, British merchants called on their government to support them militarily.

The so-called "Opium War" of 1839-42 shattered the illusion of Chinese superiority. British warships leveled Chinese coastal defenses and destroyed the Chinese southern fleet. Several major trading centers, including Shanghai, were occupied by British troops. The Chinese emperor had no choice but to open negotiations with the British.

Britain's victory turned the tables on China's relationship with the West. Under the Treaty of Nanjing (or Nanking), signed in 1842, and another treaty the following year, the British imposed a new set of rules for international commerce. The treaties forced China to lower its tariffs (taxes on imported goods) to 5 percent. (U.S. import tariffs were around 30 percent at the time.) Five additional Chinese ports were opened to foreign trade and China ceded the island of Hong Kong to Britain. Moreover, Westerners accused of crimes in China were to be tried according to Western laws by officials from their home countries.

> *The empire of China is an old, crazy first rate man-of-war [warship]....She may, perhaps, not sink outright. She may drift some time as a wreck, and will then be dashed to pieces on the shore. But she can never be rebuilt on the old bottom.*
>
> *—Lord Macartney, British envoy to China*

Like merchants of other countries, American traders benefited from the Treaty of Nanjing. A treaty between the United States and China in 1844 closely followed the terms laid down by the British. Other Western nations were quick to insist on the same conditions.

A century of humiliation

China's defeat in the Opium War was viewed by many in the Manchu dynasty as an accident. They failed to understand that their empire was in desperate need of change. Much of the strain was due to the rapid population growth of the 1700s, a century of stability and prosperity in China. As China's population approached 300 million in the early 1800s, millions of peasants were forced off the land in search of work and food. Local officials were often unable to maintain order.

China in the 19th century was shaken by frequent rebellions. Most significant was the Taiping Rebellion, which raged from 1850 to 1864 and claimed at least 20 million lives. The leader of the Taiping (or "Heavenly Kingdom") movement was Hong Xiuquan. Hong had been influenced by Protestant missionaries in China and believed that he was the younger brother of Jesus Christ. By 1853, Hong had organized an army of more than 1 million soldiers and

established his rule over six of China's richest provinces.

Even as the Taiping Rebellion continued, the Manchu dynasty stumbled into a new round of fighting with the West. In 1856, Chinese forts along the Pearl River in southern China fired on American ships without warning. U.S. naval forces responded by bombarding the Chinese defenses. A larger conflict, often known as the second Opium War, erupted in 1857 when the Chinese refused to consider revising the Treaty of Nanjing and its other agreements with Western countries.

The Westerners insisted that international law was on their side. According to the U.S.-Chinese treaty of 1844, the agreement was to be reviewed after twelve years had passed. Meanwhile, the British, French, and Russians asserted that they were entitled to the same privileges granted the Americans. Led by the British, the four Western nations backed their claims with military might.

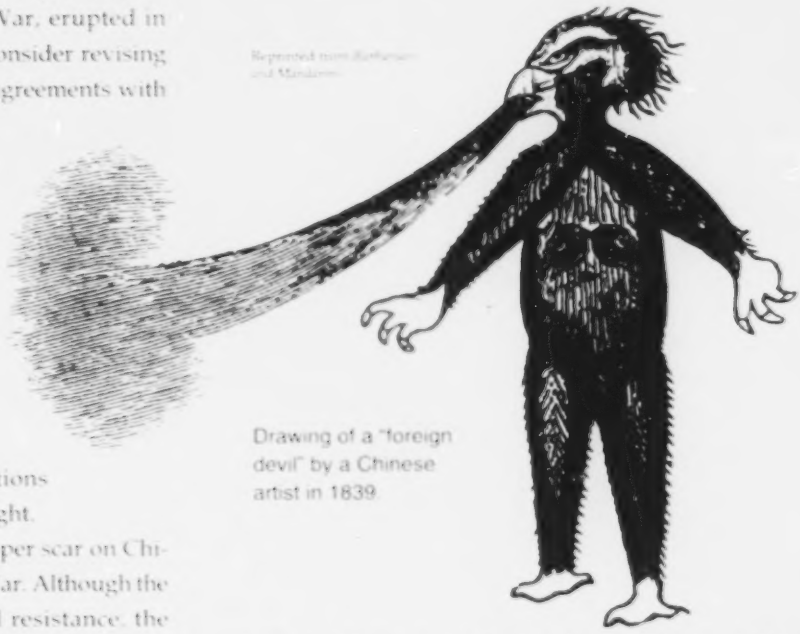
The results of the war left a deeper scar on Chinese pride than had the first Opium War. Although the Chinese put up a more determined resistance, the Western forces fought their way to Beijing, burned and looted the Summer Palace, and forced the emperor to flee. Ye Ming-chen, the emperor's adviser on foreign affairs, was captured by the British and exiled to India.

> *The barbarians [Westerners] are superior in three ways: firstly, warships; secondly, firearms; and thirdly, methods of military training and discipline of soldiers.*
>
> *—Imperial Commissioner Lin Ze-xu*

The conditions imposed by the West after the second Opium War broadened the advantages gained in the Treaty of Nanjing. The opium trade was legalized. Westerners were permitted to travel into China's interior and take up residence in Beijing. In addition, Christian missionaries and their converts were to be officially tolerated. Once the Chinese agreed to the new concessions, the West helped the Manchu dynasty extinguish the fading Taiping Rebellion.

America's Expanding Role

The forces of modernization and industrialization led the United States and China in opposite directions in the 19th century. As China fell further behind the West, the United States rose to the status of a world power. In the decades after the Civil War, American industry grew at a breakneck speed. By the turn of the century, the United States had surpassed Britain as the world's leading economic producer.



Drawing of a "foreign devil" by a Chinese artist in 1839

With economic progress came a larger role for the United States overseas. The U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War of 1898 left the United States in control of the Philippines and the island of Guam. America's foothold in East Asia focused new attention on the U.S. position in China.

At the same time, the cooperation among Western powers with respect to China was breaking down. Britain's leadership role was challenged by the emergence of Japan and Germany as new contenders for influence in China. The entry of the Japanese was especially critical. Like China, Japan had not welcomed contact with the West. Four U.S. battleships under the command of Commodore Matthew Perry forced the Japanese to open their country to foreign trade in 1853. Japan's leaders, however, soon launched their

country on a crash course to catch up with the West.

The Japanese demonstrated their success in adapting Western industrial and military technology at the expense of the Chinese. In 1894, a war broke out between the two countries over their competing claims in Korea. Within six months, the Japanese had smashed China's fleet and defeated the Chinese army.

> *If we continue to drift with an army untrained, our revenues disorganized, our scholars ignorant, and our artisans without technical training, how can we possibly hope to hold our own among the nations.*
>
> —*Emperor Guang-xu*

Japan's military success stirred anxiety among U.S. officials. In the last years of the 19th century, Japan, Britain, France, Russia, and Germany scrambled for territorial concessions and economic advantages in China. Each country sought to carve out a sphere of influence in which it would regulate commerce. Americans wanted to make sure that they would not be shut out of the Chinese market for imports, and yet were unwilling to commit the troops and warships to join in the competition.

Elsewhere in Asia and throughout Africa, Britain, France, and other imperialist powers had already staked out vast colonial empires. U.S. policymakers hoped to devise a strategy that would prevent a similar land grab in China. The American position was laid out in 1899, when U.S. Secretary of State John Hay sent a note to the foreign powers in China requesting that they maintain an "open door" in their spheres of influence. The Open Door policy was based on the principle that all countries doing business in China should compete on equal terms. (At the time, American commerce with China amounted to about 1 percent of total U.S. trade.) Although no treaties were signed, the United States upheld the Open Door as the foundation of U.S. policy toward China for the next half century.

The declaration of the Open Door policy signalled that the United States was prepared to become more involved in China, especially as the Manchu dynasty lurched from crisis to crisis. In 1900, several thousand U.S. troops joined the other imperialist powers in putting down the Boxer Rebellion. The Boxers, drawn from secret societies of martial arts experts who believed they were invulnerable to firearms, had laid siege to the area in Beijing set aside for foreign diplomats in an effort to expel outsiders from China. They were armed and supported by China's empress dowager, Tz'u Hsi.

Once the rebellion had been crushed, the foreign powers demanded that the Chinese government pay $300 million for the damage caused by the Boxers. The United States participated in the negotiations, but American leaders were wary of the ambitions of the other powers. Americans presented themselves as defenders of China's independence and warned that the powers should not use the Boxer Rebellion as an excuse to acquire more territory in China. Of the $25 million the United States received as compensation for the rebellion, U.S. officials invested most of it in the Chinese educational system.

The rise of Chinese nationalism

The United States was a source of both inspiration and resentment for the new generation of intellectuals that set the tone of the Chinese nationalist

Percentage of World Manufacturing Output

Country	*1750*	*1800*	*1830*	*1860*	*1880*	*1900*
China	33%	33%	30%	20%	13%	6%
Britain	2%	4%	10%	20%	23%	19%
U.S.	0.10%	1%	2%	7%	15%	24%
France	4%	4%	5%	8%	8%	7%
Russia	5%	6%	6%	7%	8%	9%
Japan	4%	4%	3%	3%	2%	2%
Germany	3%	4%	4%	5%	9%	13%

Data from *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*

Reprinted from Barbarians and Mandarins

Portrait of a participant in the Boxer Rebellion.

movement in the early 1900s. The American ideals of democracy and equal opportunity were admired by Chinese intellectuals. When the Manchu dynasty undertook educational, governmental, and military reforms after the Boxer Rebellion, the institutions of the United States served as a model. At the same time, Chinese nationalists recognized that many American officials viewed them as backward and inferior. They saw the treatment of Chinese immigrants in the United States as a reflection of American attitudes.

In the mid-1800s, Chinese laborers had been encouraged to come to the United States to help build the railroads and work the mines of the American West. By 1868, there were more than 100,000 Chinese immigrants in the United States, most of them young men intending to return to China. In the frontier towns of the West, the Chinese were often the targets of violent attacks. Twenty-eight Chinese miners were massacred in Wyoming in 1885. The Chinese presence also sparked the first significant U.S. legislation to restrict immigration — the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. In 1904, Chinese immigration to the United States was banned altogether. Chinese nationalists responded by boycotting American products.

Although the boycott fizzled, Chinese nationalism gained a sharper focus in the early 1900s. The chief aim of the nationalists was to reassert Chinese authority over their country and overturn the "unequal treaties" that had begun with the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing. The Manchu rulers, descendents of a conquering tribe from the northeastern region of Manchuria, were themselves viewed as outsiders by the nationalists. They were also blamed for allowing China to fall under the domination of the West and Japan.

Chinese nationalism helped spark a series of revolts that toppled the Manchu dynasty in 1911. However, the nationalists lacked the strength to carry out their plans to form a constitutional republic. Instead, power revolved around military strongman Yuan Shi-kai and his officers. Yuan attempted to create a new dynasty with himself as emperor, but he was opposed by both the nationalists and many of his generals. By the time of his death in 1916, China was sinking into the chaos of civil war.

China's struggle for unity

China's weakness left it vulnerable to Japanese expansionism during World War I (1914-18). With Germany fighting on the battlefields of Europe, Japan occupied the German sphere of influence in the province of Shantung and demanded new concessions from China. Many Chinese nationalists looked with hope to President Woodrow Wilson, who offered a vision for a new international system to end the war.

Wilson championed the principle of self-determination — the right of nations to govern themselves — and argued that international relations should be guided by justice and fair play. Wilson proposed that a new international organization, the League of Nations, be created to prevent future wars.

At the peace conference that was convened at the end of World War I, Wilson soon found that his two main goals conflicted with one another. When he

called for Japan to withdraw from Shantung, Japanese leaders threatened to walk out of the conference. The president feared that support for the League of Nations would be undermined, and he gave in to the Japanese.

In China, many of the nationalists who had admired Wilson for his advocacy of self-determination were outraged. On May 4, 1919, hundreds of thousands of Chinese students demonstrated in China's major cities to protest the decision of the peace conference. What came to be known as the May 4th movement prompted a boycott of Japanese goods and deepened Chinese anger toward foreign domination. The growing appeal of Chinese nationalism also helped fuel support for the two political parties — the Kuomintang and the communists — that were to shape Chinese politics during the coming decades.

The Kuomintang (or Nationalist Party) was founded by Sun Yat-sen in 1912 and won the largest number of seats in the election for parliament in 1912-13. As prospects for a parliamentary democracy crumbled under Yuan Shi-kai, Sun was forced to turn to regional warlords for help. Until his death in 1925, Sun and the Kuomintang were caught up in a multi-sided struggle for control of China. Like the warlords, the Kuomintang eventually organized its own army.

The Chinese Communist Party got its start in 1921 under the leadership of Mao Ze-dong. While the Kuomintang drew support largely from educated city dwellers, the communists sought to create a popular base among the peasants. From the outset, the communists looked to the newly formed Soviet Union for assistance. The Soviets, in fact, won support in both the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang by relinquishing some of the privileges that had been gained by the Russian empire. Soviet agents helped forge a brief alliance between the two parties in the early 1920s.

Sun's death in 1925 brought a new leader and a new strategy to the Kuomintang. Chiang Kai-shek, a military commander, committed the party to building an army capable of unifying China. Over the next three years, he defeated the warlords who challenged him, turned against the communists, and forced the Soviets out of the territory under his control. By 1928, Chiang was strong enough to declare himself the ruler of China.

America's second-class ally

The United States recognized Chiang's government and granted China the authority to determine its import tariffs, thus reversing a key provision in the "unequal treaties" of the 19th century.

By the late 1920s, American influence in China had made new inroads. U.S. companies played a leading role in developing China's transportation and communications systems. In education, Protestant missionaries were operating a network of colleges that served to transmit American values to China's elite.

The bonds between the United States and China, however, were not strong enough to withstand the general trend of American foreign policy between World War I and World War II. In 1920, the Senate had rejected U.S. participation in the League of Nations. For the next two decades, the United States followed a policy of isolationism from international affairs.

Isolationism set the tone for U.S. measures when the Japanese launched a large-scale attack to extend their control over Manchuria in 1931. Japan's leaders considered the coal and iron ore reserves of Manchuria vital to their country's industrialized economy. By 1932, the Japanese had set up a puppet government in Manchuria, renaming the region "Manchukuo."

> *If she [China] lacks the strength to protect herself from aggression and exploitation, she cannot reasonably expect the other nations to do the job for her.*
>
> *—Thomas Lamont, Wall Street banker*

After diplomatic attempts to stop the Japanese failed, President Herbert Hoover sent U.S. warships and troops to China in 1932 in response to Japan's bombing of Shanghai. The United States, however, was unwilling to oppose Japan with force. Other world leaders expressed their outrage while avoiding conflict. The League of Nations that Wilson hoped would stand up to aggression turned away from a crucial challenge.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt was even less

inclined to defend China than Hoover had been. After taking office in 1933, Roosevelt concentrated on lifting the country out of the economic depression that had begun with the stock market crash of 1929. He followed Britain's policy of seeking to maintain close ties with Japan.

In 1937, Japan plunged deeper into China's heartland. By the end of the year, Japanese forces had taken Nanjing, the capital of Chiang Kai-shek's government. As hundreds of foreign residents watched, the Japanese unleashed a campaign of murder, rape, and looting against the civilian population. More than 200,000 Chinese were massacred and much of the city was burned to the ground.

The "Rape of Nanjing," as the atrocity was labeled in the United States, turned the American public against Japan, but U.S. policy hardly budged. Part of the reason was that U.S. officials in China were reporting that Chiang's army devoted more of its energy to fighting Mao Ze-dong's communists than to fighting the Japanese. A few were even convinced that China would be better off under Japanese control.

> *The Japanese imperialists attack us and even plan for our extinction. Owing to the existence of the communist bandits, we cannot offer unified, effective resistance to the aggressor.*
>
> *—Chiang Kai-shek*

Over the next few years, the Japanese tightened their hold over much of coastal China. What ultimately changed the attitude of U.S. leaders was Japan's foreign policy. In September 1940, the Japanese formed an alliance with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. The United States responded by offering aid to the Chinese and restricting exports to Japan. Japan's surprise attack against the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, on December 7, 1941, finally brought the United States into the war.

World War II created new links between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek's government. American military advisers and equipment strengthened the resistance of the Chinese army. As a sign of solidarity, the United States abandoned the provisions of the "unequal treaties" that were still in effect and

Hugh Hutton in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*

lifted the ban against Chinese immigrants.

The China front, however, remained an area of low priority for U.S. military planners. The United States focused on first defeating the Nazis in Europe and then smashing Japan's island empire in the Pacific. The large-scale commitment of American troops that Chiang lobbied for never arrived. Indeed, the Japanese army at the end of World War II was still firmly entrenched in China.

Communist takeover

Among the chief goals of U.S. officials in China during World War II was to prevent a civil war between Chiang's forces and the communists. Many Americans were disgusted by the corruption and indifference of Kuomintang bureaucrats, and praised the communists for putting up a more effective battle against the Japanese. Nonetheless, the United States made sure that Chiang's government was given a prominent place in the postwar international system. Along with the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, and France, China was granted a seat on the

Security Council at the founding meeting of the United Nations in 1945.

U.S. leaders also hoped to arrange a political compromise between the communists and the Kuomintang. Negotiations, however, soon broke down, and Mao Ze-dong denounced the United States for aiding Chiang's government. In 1946, the long-simmering civil war between the Kuomintang and the communists began in earnest. As most American officials had predicted, the communists gained the upper hand. In 1948, Mao's forces swept south from their strongholds in northern China. Thousands of Kuomintang troops defected or deserted, leaving behind most of their U.S.-supplied equipment.

By early 1949, Chiang had begun to transfer the government's gold reserves to the island of Formosa (present-day Taiwan). What remained of his army was in retreat in the months that followed. On October 1, Mao proclaimed the People's Republic of China.

Communist China

U.S. foreign policy underwent a dramatic shift after World War II. The United States emerged from the war as the world's foremost military and economic power. At the same time, the war had strengthened the position of the Soviet Union. In the late 1940s, the U.S.-Soviet wartime alliance was replaced by hostility between the two superpowers. U.S. policymakers increasingly viewed Soviet communism as a global menace, especially after the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in September 1949.

In response to the Soviet threat, American leaders redefined the U.S. role in the world. Most Americans came to agree that our country's long tradition of isolation from international affairs would have to give way to a determined effort to contain the expansion of Soviet communism.

George Kennan, an American diplomat who conceived the "containment" strategy, was not particularly alarmed by the likelihood of a communist takeover in China. He focused U.S. policy largely on Europe. According to Kennan, China was decades away from developing the industrial strength needed to mount a military challenge to the United States. In addition, most U.S. officials were convinced that a long history of conflicting interests would prevent the Soviet Union and Chinese communists from reaching an effective alliance.

As Mao's forces overran southern China in 1949, the administration of Harry Truman decided that further aid to Chiang Kai-shek was useless. Truman expected that the communists would soon gain control over Formosa as well. More important for U.S. leaders was the goal of driving a wedge between Mao and the Soviet Union.

Communist North Korea's invasion of South Korea in June 1950 changed U.S. policy in East Asia overnight. President Truman responded to the attack by immediately sending U.S. warships to defend Formosa. The United States led a dozen other nations under the authority of the United Nations (UN) in an international effort to stop the North Koreans.

By September 1950, UN forces under U.S. General Douglas MacArthur had pushed the North Korean army back to the original border along the 38th parallel. MacArthur wanted to defeat the communist regime in North Korea. As his troops advanced beyond the 38th parallel, however, the Chinese army launched a massive counter-attack.

Although the Chinese military was no match for the United States technologically, the Chinese had the advantage of numbers. Poorly armed Chinese soldiers threw themselves at U.S. positions in human-wave assaults. (Roughly 250,000 Chinese and 54,000 American troops died in the war.) UN forces retreated deep into South Korea.

MacArthur favored attacking China itself, even using nuclear weapons, to turn the tide of the war. Truman, however, feared that MacArthur's recommendations would trigger World War III, and he replaced his top general. UN forces slowly retook South Korea in the first half of 1951. Inconclusive fighting continued along the 38th parallel for another two years before a truce was reached in 1953.

In the United States, attitudes toward China crystallized well before the cease-fire. China was seen as a tool of the Soviet campaign to spread communism worldwide. U.S. diplomatic recognition of China was now out of the question. Moreover, Chiang's

government on Taiwan (formerly Formosa) was viewed as a critical ally.

Mao contributed to the antagonism in U.S.-Chinese relations. In the early 1950s, he drove out American missionaries, foundations, and colleges still operating in China. Russian replaced English as the foreign language promoted by the government. Americans were also appalled by Chinese attempts to brainwash U.S. prisoners of war captured in Korea.

During the 1950s, U.S. policy in East Asia concentrated on containing China. The United States signed defense treaties with most of China's neighbors and stationed tens of thousands of troops in South Korea, Japan, and Taiwan. In 1954 and 1958, the United States pledged to use force to counter Chinese threats to invade two small islands claimed by Taiwan. U.S. hostility toward China continued even after the Chinese-Soviet alliance unraveled in the early 1960s.

Mao's unpredictability and combative stance made China an even greater foreign policy concern for most Americans than was the Soviet Union. In 1962, the Chinese army quickly routed India and occupied territory that had been in dispute along the border of the two Asian giants. Two years later, China exploded its first atomic bomb. U.S. leaders explained America's growing involvement in the Vietnam War in the mid-1960s largely in terms of the threat posed by China.

> *Power grows out of the barrel of a gun.*
> —*Mao Ze-dong*

As U.S. troop strength in Vietnam rose to 500,000 in 1967, Mao was leading his people down a still more radical path. Mao's Cultural Revolution, which raged in full force from 1966 to 1969, was designed to overturn the traditional order of Chinese society. Millions of government officials and university professors were sent to the countryside to work in the fields. Young Red Guards were given the authority to police the revolution. Meanwhile, Chinese and Soviet troops engaged in two serious border clashes in 1969. The Soviet army marched into northwestern China to force the Chinese to negotiate a settlement to the dispute.

New relations

Even as Mao veered toward extremism, U.S. policymakers in the late 1960s were rethinking U.S.-Chinese relations. Ironically, the initiative came from President Richard Nixon, a political figure long known for his strident anti-communism. Nixon recognized that the United States and China shared a common mistrust of the Soviet Union. He was eager to realign the global balance of power at a time when Soviet influence was on the rise.

The first exploratory talks between the United States and China began in 1970. The following year, the United States lifted trade restriction against China that dated from the Korean War. In the UN, the United States did not use its veto power to block a resolution that awarded Taiwan's seat to China.

In 1972, Nixon visited Beijing. The president met with Mao, swapped toasts with top Chinese officials, and sat through a ballet performance of *The Red Detachment of Women*. Nixon had achieved an important breakthrough in U.S. foreign policy.

For the next few years, political crises in both the United States and China prevented the relationship from developing. The Watergate scandal forced Nixon's resignation in 1974, while in China the death of Mao Ze-dong in 1976 set off a struggle for power. The emergence of Deng Xiao-ping as the leader of China signalled that further progress was possible.

Deng was known as a moderate who sought to open China to the outside world. In January 1979, he visited the United States, touring factories and even wearing a cowboy hat at a Texas rodeo. Behind the scenes, he assured U.S. officials that China would not use force against Taiwan. The United States responded in March 1979 by officially recognizing China — and by withdrawing recognition from Taiwan. The future of Taiwan remained a sticking point in U.S.-Chinese relations during much of the 1980s. At the same time, expanding trade and investment, as well as a surge in student, scientific, and cultural exchanges, were fast creating important links between the two countries. China was not a U.S. ally, but a new era in U.S.-Chinese relations was clearly underway.

Timeline of U.S.-Chinese Relations 1784-1979

1784 — First American merchants trade with China

1839-1842 — Britain defeats China in first Opium War

1842 — Treaty of Nanjing opens China to British trade

1844 — U.S. signs first treaty with China

1850-1864 — Taiping Rebellion devastates China

1856 — U.S. warships retaliate against Chinese forts

1857-1860 — Western forces defeat China in second Opium War

1858 — Treaty of Tianjin broadens Western advantages in China

1882 — Chinese Exclusion Act restricts Chinese immigration to U.S.

1894-1895 — Japan defeats China in six-month war

1899 — Secretary of State Hay issues Open Door note

1900 — Foreign powers put down Boxer Rebellion

1911 — Yuan Shi-kai claims power after fall of Manchu dynasty

1912 — Sun Yat-sen establishes Kuomintang (Nationalist Party)

1919 — Chinese students protest decision of Paris Peace Conference

1921 — Mao Ze-dong establishes Chinese Communist Party

1928 — Chiang Kai-shek asserts rule in China

1931-1932 — Japanese extend control over Manchuria

1937 — Japanese launch large-scale invasion of China

1941-1945 — U.S. spearheads Allied victory over Japan

1945 — China included on UN Security Council

1949 — Communist forces establish control over China

1950-1953 — China opposes U.S. in Korean War

1962 — China defeats India in border dispute

1967 — U.S. troop strength in Vietnam rises to 500,000

1972 — Richars Nixon visits China

1976 — Mao Ze-dong dies

1979 — U.S. recognizes China

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Part II: China's Transformation

The life of Deng Xiao-ping has been marked by struggle. Deng was an early member of the Chinese Communist Party and fought both Chiang Kai-shek's forces and the Japanese army during the 1930s and 1940s. In 1968, at the height of China's Cultural Revolution, he was forced to confess to being a "counter-revolutionary" and was driven out of Beijing. For six years, Deng was denied the position he had held in the Politburo, the ruling body of the Communist Party. He returned to the leadership ranks only to come under attack in 1976 as "the unrepentant capitalist-roader." For the next two years, Deng and his political opponents grappled for power as the fate of China hung in the balance.

And yet, at the end of 1978, already 74 years old and still securing his leadership, Deng took on the biggest struggle of his career: reforming the Chinese economy. Deng had long been known as a pragmatist within the Communist Party. He was especially critical of the radicals who stressed the need to purify communist ideology. Instead, he was a champion of policies that would advance China's development.

(The man rising from the coffin is Deng Xiao-ping.)

Reprinted from *Seeds of Fire*

> *It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice.*
>
> —*Deng Xiao-ping*

The past sixteen years in China's history have been stamped by the pragmatism of Deng. China's annual economic growth rate of over 9 percent has won Deng praise for his economic reforms. The uniformity and drabness that characterized Mao's China has been replaced by an accent on individuality. At the same time, the changes of the Deng era have torn at the fabric of Chinese society.

In this part of the background reading, you will examine China's economic, social, and political transformation. The subject is of particular importance to Americans. As you will learn in the final part of the background reading, what is happening in China will profoundly affect the direction of our own country's foreign policy.

Economic Reform

Deng took power with a clear memory of the economic mistakes that had been made in the previous two decades. Mao had followed the path of the Soviet Union in creating a centrally planned economy. Like the Soviets, communist officials in China had harnessed the manpower and resources of their country to build roads, ports, dams, and other large-scale projects. They also committed horrendous blunders.

In the late 1950s, Mao tried to engineer a "Great Leap Forward" by organizing China's peasants into huge "people's communes." Each commune contained tens of thousands of people and was designed to be self-sufficient, even to the point of producing its own steel. The experiment proved disastrous. Confusion and disorganization led to widespread crop failures. As many as 30 million Chinese starved in the famine that resulted.

Beginning in 1978, Deng gradually dismantled Mao's command economy. The impact of his reforms was felt first in the countryside, home to 70 percent of

China's people. Instead of large collective farms, individual families were given responsibility for working the land through long-term leases. Price controls were lifted and peasants were allowed to sell most of their crop in the marketplace. The "work units" that controlled housing, health care, education, and other necessities of life in the countryside were abolished. In addition, people in the countryside were allowed to open their own businesses outside of agriculture. Progress came quickly. Within seven years, output in rural areas had shot up by 48 percent.

Success in agriculture encouraged Deng to extend his reforms to industry and commerce. Deng opened China up to the global economy. Special economic zones were created along the southeastern coast where Chinese entrepreneurs and foreign investors were allowed to go into business with little government interference. Exports were promoted. Central economic planners lost much of their authority to officials at the local and provincial levels. Across China, millions of new enterprises were established. Many were offshoots of state-run factories, universities, collective farms, or other institutions of the communist system.

Deng's reforms have gone a long way toward bringing China into the global marketplace. Exports rose from $14 billion in 1979 to $121 billion in 1994. In 1994, China ranked 11th worldwide in manufactured exports, with 2.9 percent of the global market. (The United States was first, with a 12.2 percent share.) By the end of the century, China is expected to rank in the top five.

American investors have played a leading role in China's economic boom, but in recent years investments from Hong Kong and Taiwan have grown at an even faster pace. Most Hong Kong manufacturers, for example, now make their products inside China in neighboring Guangdong province.

Between communism and capitalism

Deng has labeled his country's economic system "socialism with Chinese characteristics." In fact, neither economic analysts nor government regulators have been able to keep up with China's economic transformation. In many respects, China today is moving swiftly toward the free-market economic system of the United States, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. Most decisions about what goods are going to be produced and how much they will cost are made by producers and consumers, not by government planners.

In other ways, features of the communist system continue to define China. Most city workers, for example, obtain their housing through their workplaces and pay very little for rent. The government provides free health care in most cases and steps in to prevent sharp increases in food prices.

Most important, about one-third of China's industrial output is produced by state-owned factories. Many of them are outdated and inefficient giants with tens of thousands of workers. The Anshan Iron and Steel Mills in northeastern China alone employs 500,000 people. Half of the companies in the state sector are losing money. Under Mao, workers in the big state-owned factories were celebrated for propelling China toward industrialization. They were poor, but they were guaranteed the benefits of what was known as the "iron rice bowl" — a secure job, free housing, and health care.

The government has prodded managers in the state sector to respond more effectively to free-market forces, but has backed away from carrying out the deep job cutbacks that economists recommend. There are roughly 90 million Chinese without work, and officials fear that increasing unemployment could lead to widespread unrest.

Unemployment would be much worse in China if not for the startling growth of the non-state sector of the economy. Most non-state enterprises fall into two categories. The privately owned sector most closely resembles businesses in our own country. It consists of enterprises under the ownership of Chinese entrepreneurs, foreign investors, or Chinese-foreign joint ventures. Most of these firms are located in southeastern China.

More difficult to grasp is the economic sector that belongs neither to the state nor to private entrepreneurs. Many villages and towns in the countryside, for example, have branched out into other businesses. Although in theory they are public enterprises, they are not managed or funded by the government. In the

cities, workers at state institutions are finding similar opportunities.

For example, professors from the engineering department of a university may decide to open a small factory producing machine parts. If their business prospers, they will likely take home profits that are many times above their university salaries. The question of ownership, however, usually remains unclear. Is the factory a private or a state enterprise? And who decides how the profits — or the potential losses — are shared?

Even with much of China's economy on unsteady ground, the impact of economic growth is clearly evident, especially in the cities. A generation ago, Chinese consumers aspired to own a bicycle, a wristwatch, and a radio. Today, Chinese now set their sights on color televisions, refrigerators, and VCRs.

Society in a Whirlwind

Deng's economic reforms unleashed the entrepreneurial energy of the Chinese people. Chinese in all walks of life, from teachers to doctors to tractor drivers, have decided to go into business, or as the Chinese say, "plunge into the sea." Chinese society has turned its back on many of the guiding principles of communism.

Under Mao, the communists strove to create a new value system. Equality, self-sacrifice, and cooperation were held up as the driving engines of the communist revolution. During the Great Leap Forward of the late 1950s, the communist authorities went so far as to even try to reshape the structure of the family in the countryside. Husbands and wives were occasionally forced to live separately on huge communal farms, while their children were cared for in state-run nurseries.

Deng's policies have marked a return to more traditional Chinese values. The family has been restored to its central position in society, and Chinese have again been permitted to make use of their talents in business and commerce. At the same time, China's economic boom has introduced a new emphasis on materialism and individualism in Chinese society.

Corruption among government officials is now widespread. The combination of dedication, discipline, and fear that served to restrain China's bureaucrats under Mao has largely broken down. Many of them resent the sudden wealth of the country's new entrepreneurs and have sought a piece of the action for themselves by demanding bribes for export licenses, building permits, and other government documents. Hundreds of thousands more have taken advantage of their authority to set up their own businesses. A few have embezzled millions of dollars in state funds and fled overseas.

> *To get rich is glorious.*
>
> *—Deng Xiao-ping*

Meanwhile, Chinese officials are losing the battle to control the thinking of their citizens. The opening

of China's economy has exposed the country to the forces of the information revolution. Fax machines, television satellite dishes, computer modems, and short-wave radios have linked China to the outside world. Chinese-language news and entertainment from Hong Kong pour over the airwaves into China. Most observers believe that Beijing's recent decisions to ban the ownership of satellite dishes and censor the reports of foreign news services come too late to stop the flood. In addition, the influx of foreign business executives, tourists, and students has introduced millions of Chinese to life abroad.

Collapse of communist values

China's new openness has left the greatest impression on the outlook of the young. The generation of Chinese youth that has grown up in the last sixteen years has faced a bewildering shift in values. Whereas communist slogans and portraits of Mao once held sway over city streets, customers in private shops today are more likely to encounter posters of Hollywood movie stars and *Playboy* pin-ups. There is little respect left for the ideals of communism.

Many Chinese youth, especially in the cities, voice their feelings by embracing what is known as "grey culture" — a defiant contrast to the official culture sponsored by the Communist Party. Grey culture is expressed mostly through punkish fashions, pop art, offbeat fiction, and rock 'n' roll.

The evolution of grey culture has reflected the course of Chinese political life. In 1987, the government launched the "anti-bourgeois liberalization campaign" to rid China of "spiritual pollution" from abroad. The tide of the information revolution soon forced the authorities to retreat on the cultural front, but they continued to hold the line against political reform.

In the spring of 1989, they were challenged by a loosely organized democracy movement led by university students. By early June, the movement had taken the form of a mass demonstration in Tiananmen Square in the center of Beijing. Cui Jian, China's most well-known rock performer, played before the crowd wearing a red blindfold. Students erected a replica of the Statue of Liberty to symbolize their quest for democracy. The government responded by calling in the army to break up the protest. Troops killed dozens of people in the square and hundreds of others in nearby streets. Thousands more were arrested.

In the minds of the authorities, grey culture and the democracy movement are closely connected. Since the Tiananmen Square protest, Cui Jian and other rock performers have kept a low profile. A Hard Rock Cafe has opened in Beijing, but its customers are mainly foreign tourists and business executives. Meanwhile, private rock parties and slam dancing serve as an indirect form of protest against the government.

New divisions

China's generation gap is only one of the many divisions that have opened up in society since the late 1970s. More serious is the widening gulf between rich and poor. Chinese cities are home today to stark contrasts, just as they were before the communist revolution. Homeless beggars can be found outside the storefronts of millionaire businessmen. Expensive nightclubs have opened up for the new elite while ordinary Chinese complain about the dramatic rise in violent crime, drug use, and prostitution.

In the countryside, Chinese peasants look to the cities with envy. Although farmers were the first to benefit from Deng's economic reforms, progress in agriculture has slowed since the mid-1980s. In many areas, the breakup of collective farms has held back the modernization of agriculture because investment in roads, irrigation canals, and grain silos has declined. In addition, crop prices have not kept up with the cost of manufactured goods. The average Chinese peasant earns only about one-tenth of the income of city dwellers along China's southeastern coast. Many Chinese villagers hang portraits of Mao in their homes to symbolize their discontent.

> *No one likes the old days. But under his [Mao's] leadership at least we all lived the same kind of life. Chairman Mao put the interests of us villagers first.*
>
> *—Chinese peasant woman*

Since Deng's government gradually freed peasants

from travel restrictions, millions of villagers have joined a new class of rootless migrants who are either without land of their own or looking for opportunity. There are as many as 150 million of them now looking for work, often floating from city to city. Downtown streets in major Chinese cities are full of "one-day mules" — young men available for day labor at low wages.

In southeastern China, the destination of most migrants from the countryside, conditions recall scenes from the sweatshops of New York or the slaughterhouses of Chicago in the late 1800s. Young women looking for a factory job can expect to work long hours on an assembly line and to sleep in a crowded dormitory above the factory floor. Wages are as low as $1 a day. Moreover, party officials often collect under-the-table fees of $1,000 to arrange employment. Many of the young people who do not find a niche in the economy are sucked into China's growing underclass of criminals, drug addicts, and prostitutes.

Political Uncertainty

The events of 1989 shook the confidence of the leaders of the Chinese Communist Party. The Tiananmen Square protests illustrated the level of dissatisfaction among many of China's most gifted university students. The government's order to send tanks and troops against the demonstrators left the impression that China's communist rulers could hold onto power only through force. They seemed to be on the wrong side of history. In the months before the Tiananmen demonstrations, communist regimes in Eastern Europe that had been established at about the same time as the People's Republic of China fell one by one to mass movements for democracy.

Today, the people of China are still waiting to see which direction history will take their country. China's economic transformation has brought the country to a political crossroads. The values of Mao Ze-dong no longer hold China together. The generation of influential elders that led the communist revolution is dying out. The vision of a strong, self-reliant communist society has been largely abandoned by the generation that has grown up under Deng Xiao-ping. And yet, there is no clear political roadmap to guide China into the future.

For the time being, the Communist Party remains in control, but its ideology has faded and its authority at the regional and local levels has waned. Meanwhile, a struggle for power has begun behind the scenes as Deng Xiao-ping nears the end of his life.

Beijing's worries

Mao saw communism as a means for modernizing China under the control of a single-party dictatorship. As in other countries of the poor, developing world, Chinese leaders wanted to apply the benefits of Western technology and science while breaking free of Western imperialism.

Communism served the goals of Mao well. China after the communist revolution was again

Prisoner #1: "What are you here for?"
Prisoner #2: "I opposed Hu Yaobang. And you?"
Prisoner #3: "I supported him. (Addressing Prisoner #1) What about you?"
Prisoner #1: "I am Hu Yaobang."

(Hu Yaobang was forced to resign as head of the Chinese Communist Party in 1987 after pushing to speed up the pace of reform.)

Reprinted from *Seeds of Fire*

unified following more than a century of fragmentation. A strong central government was built around the Communist Party. Mao reasserted China's independence from Western influence and took measures to promote modern industry.

The goals of Maoism, however, do not fit Deng's strategy for economic reform. China watchers note that China's political system today has more in common with the political systems of other states in East Asia than with China under Mao. Like South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, China has an authoritarian government that places a heavy emphasis on promoting export industries.

In the coming years, however, China's political system will face several challenges. If the experience of China's East Asian neighbors holds true, pressure for democracy will gradually build as economic progress draws more Chinese into the middle class. South Korea and Taiwan, for example, emerged as economic powerhouses under the rule of one-party dictatorships, but now appear headed toward democratic reform.

> *The more we pursue reform and the open door policy...the more we must uphold [the dictatorship of the proletariat]. There must be no weakening at all.*
>
> *—President Jiang Ze-min*

In the short term, democracy is seen as less of a threat to the authority of the Chinese Communist Party than is the increasing concentration of power at the provincial and local levels. China's wealthy southeastern provinces, such as Guangdong, hold onto almost all of their tax revenues and receive little from the central government in return. In a few cases, regional trade wars have erupted, with provincial governments imposing tariffs on goods from neighboring provinces.

Meanwhile, China's national budget deficits have ballooned in recent years. Many of the big state-run factories that supply much of the revenue for the central government are themselves failing. China's leaders are even more worried that the central command of the Chinese army may dissolve, giving rise to the emergence of regional warlords.

The fact that China is about to undergo a change of leaders has deepened the sense of uncertainty in the country. Historically, China has been a society ruled by individuals rather than laws. In contrast to the United States, China's political system is not guided by constitutional principles. Instead, rivals for leadership in China are seeking to build support among top Communist Party officials, military generals, provincial leaders, and other powerful circles.

So far, the contest appears to be between those who want to continue Deng's economic reforms and those who want to slow the pace of change and reassert the authority of the party. The leadership struggle may take months, if not years, and most of it will occur far away from newspaper reporters and television cameras. Nonetheless, the world will be anxiously following the contest. International relations in the 21st century may very well hinge on the outcome.

Part III: The U.S.-Chinese Agenda

China is impossible to overlook in the international arena. With 22 percent of the world's population, the second- or third-largest economy, and a nuclear arsenal undergoing modernization, China is destined to enter the 21st century as a leading focus for policymakers in the United States and elsewhere.

What remains to be seen, however, is what kind of China will take shape from today's uncertainty. A strong, confident China could act as a force for peace and stability in East Asia and serve as an expanding market for high-tech American exports. Or it could become a regional bully and increasingly seek to challenge U.S. interests around the world. Meanwhile, a weak, unstable China presents another set of threats. An economic crisis in China could send shock waves throughout the global economy, especially in East Asia. Tens of millions of economic refugees could spill beyond China's borders, with millions of them heading for the United States. A collapse of political authority could draw the world's great powers into the confusion, just as it did in the 19th century.

In this part of the background reading, you will examine the issues that figure most prominently on the U.S.-Chinese agenda. As you will learn, Americans are confronted with a particularly difficult task in charting our policy toward China. First, we must keep a close watch on developments inside of China during this time of change. Second, we must consider our own country's role in the world and our relationship with a China that is poised to acquire the strength of a global superpower some time in the next century.

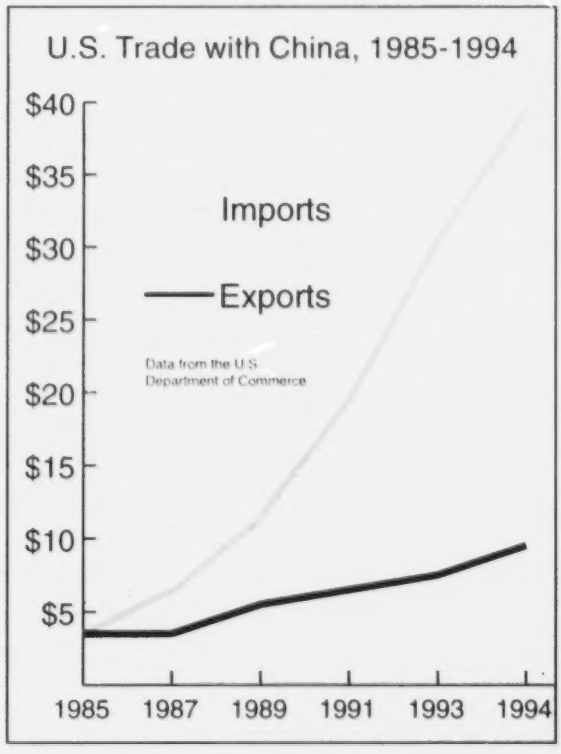
Trade Tensions

For the next few years at least, trade issues are expected to dominate the U.S.-Chinese agenda. Many of them are of very recent origin. During Mao's rule, trade between the two countries was meager. Throughout the 1980s, it grew steadily, with a fairly even balance between imports and exports.

Recent years, however, have witnessed a surge in Chinese exports. Americans in 1994 bought $39 billion in Chinese products — over one-third of China's exports worldwide. Most of the Chinese-made goods were low-priced manufactured items, such as clothing, toys, bicycles, shoes, consumer electronics, and kitchenware. China's labor costs in manufacturing average about 50 cents an hour, compared to more than $16 an hour in the United States. The U.S. trade deficit with China widened to $30 billion in 1994 — second only to our country's trade deficit with Japan.

American exports to China have expanded rapidly as well, topping $9 billion in 1994. Boeing, McDonnell Douglas, and other aviation companies have recorded billions of dollars in aircraft sales to the Chinese in the 1990s. Communications giant AT&T views China — not the United States — as its fastest-growing market.

Even as U.S.-Chinese trade ties multiply, the attitudes of the two countries toward international commerce remain sharply divided. Since World War II, U.S. leaders have strongly defended the principle of free trade. The United States has maintained comparatively low import tariffs and has opened its



market to goods from around the world. In contrast, Chinese leaders have pursued a much more closed trade policy. Like the United States in the 1800s, China has imposed import tariffs averaging over 20 percent to protect Chinese industries against foreign competition.

Reprinted from *Far Eastern Economic Review*

(The speaker is U.S. Secretary of Commerce Ron Brown.)

In recent years, Chinese leaders have taken steps to bring their country into the global economic mainstream. China has applied to join the World Trade Organization (WTO), the body that sets the ground rules for global trade and includes more than 120 member states. The Beijing government hopes to be admitted as a poor, developing country, meaning that China would be given extra time to meet WTO standards. In 1995, Beijing cut its import tariffs by approximately 30 percent on more than 4,000 items.

Chinese leaders have looked to the United States to back their country's admission into the WTO for the sake of stable international relations. However, President Clinton and other world leaders have maintained that China's export muscle proves that China is ready to play by the same rules applied to wealthy, developed countries. They want China to substantially lower its import tariffs and abide by international trade practices to gain admission to the WTO.

Trade war skirmishes

U.S. pressure on China brought the two countries to the brink of a trade war in early 1995. At issue were violations of intellectual property rights in China. Intellectual property, such as musical recordings and computer software, is protected in the United States by copyright laws. The Chinese, however, have done little to protect the copyrights of American companies in their own country.

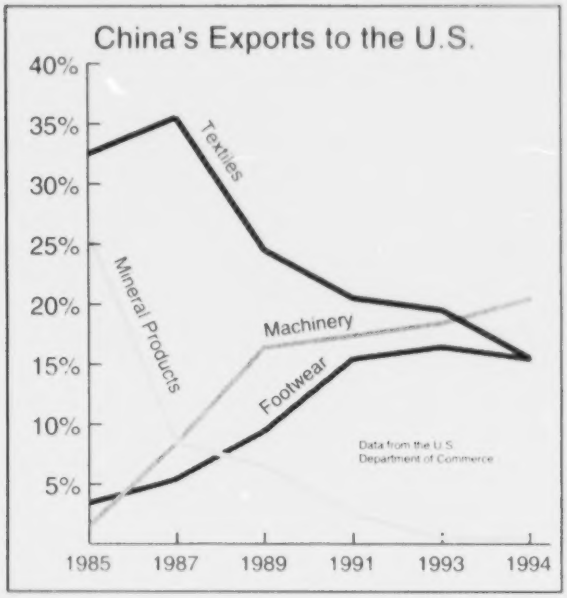
U.S. officials charged that 75 million copies of pirated compact discs were stamped out in China in 1994. Millions of American-designed computer software applications also were produced illegally. Many of the pirate factories were private firms operating in southeastern China. According to the United States, Chinese copyright violations cost American recording artists and software designers over $1 billion in 1994.

Beijing pledged to crack down on copyright pirates and to open up the Chinese market to American movies and music. U.S. trade officials, however, soon renewed their complaints, claiming that Chinese leaders have not followed through on their commitment.

In addition to concern about intellectual property rights violations, U.S. officials have complained that Chinese clothing manufacturers frequently sell their goods below cost on the international market to force out competition. China also contributes to the destruction of endangered wildlife by importing rhinoceros horns, tiger organs, and other animal parts for use in Chinese folk medicines.

Human rights issues

China's human rights record has been a central feature of the U.S.-Chinese trade picture since 1989. After the government crackdown against protesters in Tiananmen Square, President George Bush stopped



sales of U.S. military equipment to China.

Anger in Congress toward the Chinese leadership was much stronger. Many Congressional representatives favored linking China's human rights performance to U.S.-Chinese trade relations. They threatened to end China's most-favored-nation status (which allows countries to export goods to the United States at the lowest tariff rates) as a means of pressuring China's leaders to change their policies at home.

Human rights organizations have drawn up a long list of complaints against China. Their sources indicate that China holds thousands of political prisoners, many of whom were active in the democracy movement of 1989. China also has a history of using prison labor to manufacture export goods.

> *No country, however large, can avoid scrutiny of its human rights record.*
>
> *—John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for humanitarian affairs*

Of particular concern is China's policy toward the region of Tibet. The Tibetans are an ancient people best known for their devotion to Buddhism and to their highland plateau, which lies to the north of the Himalayan Mountains in what is today southwestern China. The Tibetans enjoyed autonomy for centuries, but in 1950 Chinese troops overran their homeland. Communist officials have ruthlessly attempted to erase Tibet's distinctive culture. After a rebellion in 1959, hundreds of thousands of Tibetans were killed or imprisoned. Thousands of monasteries, temples, and other examples of Tibetan architecture also were destroyed. Since the 1980s, Beijing's policies have been aimed at promoting the migration of thousands of ethnic Chinese to Tibet. The Tibetans are now a minority in the region.

As a presidential candidate in 1992, Bill Clinton argued that China's most-favored-nation status should be linked to Beijing's human rights record. As president, he signed an executive order in 1993 that required China to achieve "significant progress" on human rights in order for its most-favored-nation status to be renewed in 1994. The top U.S. priorities were China's use of prison labor and the emigration restrictions that prevented leading Chinese political dissidents from leaving the country. The United States also raised the issues of Tibet, the treatment of political prisoners, and the jamming of radio and television broadcasts from abroad.

However, when the showdown came over China's trade status in May 1994, President Clinton retreated. He conceded that China had not met the conditions called for in his executive order, but he went ahead and renewed China's most-favored-nation status. He also announced that he would reject future attempts to link U.S.-Chinese trade with human rights issues.

> *Will we do more to advance the cause of human rights if China is isolated or if our nations are engaged in a growing web of political and economic cooperation and contacts?*
>
> *—Bill Clinton*

Most American business leaders praised Clinton's decision. They contend that American companies cannot afford to be shut out of the Chinese market, especially when there is little support internationally for a tough stance on human rights. In contrast, human rights organizations make the case that the United States is giving up an opportunity to steer China toward greater openness and freedom.

Security Issues

While trade and human rights issues have dominated the headlines of U.S.-Chinese relations, U.S. policymakers have often placed more emphasis on military concerns. China's defense budget has increased steadily in the 1990s, growing at about the same rate as the overall economy. In 1996, Beijing is expected to spend about $25 billion on its military. (The projected U.S. defense budget for 1996 is $261 billion.)

By all accounts, China is many years away from matching the technological sophistication of the U.S. military. Its defense spending, according to most estimates, is still behind that of Japan. Chinese leaders, however, seem committed to a long-term program of military modernization. Their policies could soon tip the balance of power in East Asia.

China's nuclear weapons have attracted particular attention. In terms of explosive force, China has the third most powerful nuclear arsenal in the world. (China has 450 nuclear warheads, compared to 29,000 for Russia and 14,980 for the United States.) Although the other major nuclear powers stopped testing their weapons in 1992, Chinese leaders have continued to conduct tests as part of their effort to develop smaller, more reliable nuclear warheads.

> *If we are not to be bullied in the present-day world, we cannot do without the [nuclear] bomb.*
>
> —*Mao Ze-dong*

Moreover, China has invested millions of dollars into building its first submarine equipped with a nuclear missile. Indian leaders fear that China's growing nuclear might is directed against their own country and, in turn, have pressed ahead with India's nuclear program.

China has also become a key player in the international arms market. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, China has become a major customer for high-tech Russian military equipment. Beijing has been especially eager to acquire Russian nuclear missile technology.

At the same time, Chinese weapons exports are well known worldwide. Americans are most familiar with Chinese-made firearms, particularly low-priced AK-47 assault rifles. Imports of the guns were banned in the United States in 1994. Internationally, U.S. officials are concerned about the spread of Chinese missile technology. China, for example, reportedly sold the Pakistanis missile technology that would enable them to fire a nuclear warhead as far as 300 miles.

Most worrisome is the possibility that China would sell nuclear materials or technology to Iran, North Korea, Pakistan, or other nations seeking to acquire nuclear weapons. China's decision to approve the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is seen as a positive sign that China is willing to cooperate with the United States and its allies in controlling the spread of nuclear weapons.

China's Role in the World

Under Mao Ze-dong, China presented itself as a model for the poor, developing countries of the Third World. The image, however, never sat well with many Chinese. They preferred to think of China as a country with a tradition of past greatness that would eventually return to its former status. Chinese leaders in recent years have indeed begun to reassert their country's voice in international relations, primarily in East Asia.

Regional considerations

Before the arrival of the Western powers in China, the sphere of influence of the Chinese empire included Korea, Vietnam, Thailand, Myanmar, and Nepal. These states were considered "tributaries" of China, and honored the emperor by regularly sending officials bearing lavish gifts to the Chinese capital.

China today is seeking to extend its influence over many of the areas that historically fell under its control. China has been especially assertive in staking its claims to two chains of tiny islands in the South China Sea. The islands, known as the Spratlys and the Paracels, reportedly lie atop rich oil deposits. Five of China's neighbors — Vietnam, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia, and Brunei — have made their own claims on the islands, but China has shown little willingness

to negotiate a settlement. In 1988, China seized six of the islands in the Spratly chain.

More recently, Beijing has undertaken a build-up of its navy and has increased its presence in the South China Sea. China's attention to its naval forces has U.S. officials worried. Since World War II, the United States has been the leading naval power in East Asia. A Chinese bid to challenge U.S. dominance could set off an arms race in the region.

Hong Kong and Taiwan also figure prominently on the U.S.-Chinese agenda. In 1997, the British are scheduled to return Hong Kong to China after controlling the territory for 150 years. Reunification will be complicated. The British colony of nearly 6 million people is an international financial and manufacturing center. In 1994, the Hong Kong legislature adopted democratic reforms.

China's leaders are eager to take advantage of Hong Kong's economic power and have pledged to preserve Hong Kong's capitalist system. At the same time, they fear that the colony's democratic reforms could fuel momentum for political change in China. Many China watchers expect Beijing to govern Hong Kong with a heavy hand. Meanwhile, thousands of Hong Kong residents have made plans to take their skills and their wealth elsewhere after 1997.

The status of Taiwan represents a more long-term problem in East Asian affairs. Since losing its seat in the United Nations to China in 1971, Taiwan has existed in a sort of international limbo. Economically, it is a powerhouse. The country is one of the top ten exporters in the world and its 21 million people enjoy a per capita income about ten times higher than that of the citizens of China.

The governments of Taiwan and China, however, both officially maintain that they represent China. Foreign countries and international organizations have been forced to choose which government to recognize. After the Korean War, the United States was Taiwan's key ally, providing billions of dollars in military aid to Chiang Kai-shek's government in Taipei (Taiwan's capital). President Nixon's visit to China in 1972 set in motion a change in U.S. diplomacy. In 1978, the United States broke relations with Taiwan and recognized China a few months later. Other countries have adopted the same position.

Taiwan has responded to the shift in international policy by seeking to strengthen its economic and cultural ties worldwide. Taiwan's economy has continued to boom, even though Taipei has been forced out of the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and other international organizations.

Officially, China, Taiwan, and the United States are committed to the eventual reunification of China and Taiwan. The lack of progress toward reunification, however, has convinced Taiwanese leaders that they should think of their country as an independent state separate from China. In recent years, they have explored the possibility of rejoining the United Nations. Beijing has insisted that reunification must be the ultimate goal, but has welcomed the billions of dollars that Taiwanese businesses have invested in China. Chinese leaders have also lowered barriers to travel and communications between their country and Taiwan.

While military tensions between China and Taiwan have cooled since the 1950s, Chinese leaders have warned that they will use force to block Taipei's drive for full-fledged independence from the mainland. China's naval expansion and military maneuvers near Taiwan are viewed as part of a larger strategy to intimidate the Taipei government. For its part, Taiwan has built a defense force of 425,000 troops equipped with sophisticated weapons, many of them from the United States. U.S. arms sales to Taiwan have been a constant irritant in U.S.-Chinese relations.

International position

China remains a wild card in the international arena. Chinese exports of missile technology and violations of global trade standards have cast China as a reckless outsider in the international community. At the same time, China has played a cooperative role in addressing crises in North Korea, Cambodia, Bosnia, the Persian Gulf, and other hot spots.

China's seat on the UN Security Council gives Beijing veto power over critical decisions of the UN. Since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, the number of UN peacekeeping operations has grown from five to seventeen, making China's position on the

News item: President Clinton threatens trade sanctions to protect wildlife in China.

Security Council all the more important.

China itself has not contributed troops to UN peacekeeping missions, but the Beijing government has generally gone along with the other members of the Security Council. Before the 1991 Persian Gulf War, the UN's most significant military mission since the Korean War, the Chinese did not block U.S. efforts to form an international coalition against Iraq's Saddam Hussein.

> *As much as any other single factor, China's political, economic, and social transformation will determine whether Asia fulfills its great promise.*
> —*Warren Christopher, secretary of state*

Closer to home for China's leaders has been the confrontation over North Korea's development of nuclear weapons. China joined with the United States and Japan in 1994 to pressure North Korea's communist leadership to freeze its nuclear program in exchange for two nuclear energy reactors. China's exports of oil and food to North Korea give Beijing a crucial role in negotiations with North Korea.

China's economic growth has also become an international issue. China has fueled its industrial expansion mainly with coal and oil. From 1970 to 1990, Chinese energy consumption increased 208 percent. China now produces more than 12 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions, mostly from burning coal. By 2010, China is expected to account for 20 percent of carbon dioxide emissions. (The United States currently produces 20 percent of the world's carbon dioxide emissions.) Many scientists believe that the build-up of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will lead to global warming and severely harm the earth's environment.

China is already shaking up the international market for energy and food. Since the mid-1970s, China's population control program has substantially lowered the country's birth rate. Nonetheless, China's population of 1.2 billion continues to grow by about 21 million annually. Meanwhile, China's new wealth has allowed the Chinese people to become more demanding consumers. The result has turned China into an importer, rather than an exporter, of oil and food. The trend is likely to continue. China is expected to have nearly 50 million vehicles by 2010, pushing it into the ranks of a major oil importer. In addition, China will have to import more grain to feed livestock as prosperous Chinese acquire a greater appetite for meat.

Conclusion

In the coming days, you will have an opportunity to consider a range of alternatives for U.S. policy toward China. Each of the four viewpoints, or options, that you will explore is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs. Each takes a different perspective on our country's role in the world and China's direction in the next decade or two. You should think of the options as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting strategies from which Americans must craft future policy. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where U.S. policy should be heading.

Options in Brief

Option 1 — Press for Democratic Values

China and the world are at a historic crossroads. As Americans, we must ask ourselves what kind of China we want to see emerge from this period of transition. The choices are stark. They demand a clear understanding of what is at stake. The United States cannot flinch from its commitment to the values we as a nation represent. The leaders of China's democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing's communist dictatorship. The people of Tibet are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government's campaign to wipe out their ancient culture. The time is right for strong action. By applying the leverage we hold, we have an opportunity to promote a new generation of Chinese leaders that recognizes the necessity of creating a more open, democratic society.

Option 2 — Promote Stability and Trade

China is walking on a tightrope. For the coming decades, the world's most populous country will be teetering above a black hole of chaos and turmoil. In this time of uncertainty, the United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity. The United States should act as a helpful guide in China's transition. Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. The importance of our relationship with China demands that the United States proceed with understanding and caution in dealing with Beijing. We must support China's full participation in the institutions of the international community. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries.

Option 3 — Tame the Dragon

China and the United States are on a collision course. With the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's past greatness, China is bound to begin flexing its muscles in the international arena. We must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy any time soon. The wide gulf that separates our political system from that of China will continue to be a source of friction. Second, China has built up 150 years of resentment against the West. Now that China's leaders have an opportunity to reassert their influence in international affairs, we should expect confrontation, not cooperation, from Beijing. Given this reality, the United States should construct a barrier to Chinese expansion.

Option 4 — Keep Our Distance

China is not the next frontier for democracy, nor is it a boundless market for U.S. exports, nor is it a hostile potential superpower. Rather, China is a poor, struggling country that is far from our shores. It is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming threat. In fact, China should not be a leading concern for Americans at all. The United States must not allow U.S.-Chinese relations to distract our country from the enormous challenges we face here at home. We must resist the temptation to meddle in international affairs that have scant impact on the lives of Americans. If anything, we should take measures to protect American industries from the flood of cheap imports that are produced in China's sweatshops and prisons.

Option 1

Press for Democratic Values

China and the world are at a historic crossroads. The changes taking place in China today will in many respects determine the nature of international relations in the 21st century. As Americans, we must ask ourselves what kind of China we want to see emerge from this period of transition. Is it a democratic China that respects human rights and shares many of the values that underpin our own society? Or is it a China that oppresses its people and sneers at our democratic political system? The choices are stark. They demand a clear understanding of what is at stake.

The United States cannot flinch from its commitment to the values we as a nation represent. The leaders of China's democratic movement are counting on us to take a firm stand against Beijing's communist dictatorship. The people of Tibet are looking to us to help stop the Chinese government's campaign to wipe out their ancient culture. The time is right for strong action. The United States is China's largest export market. Our country holds the key to China's entry into the World Trade Organization and other important international institutions. By applying the leverage we hold, we have an opportunity to promote a new generation of Chinese leaders that recognizes the necessity of creating a more open, democratic society. China has experienced remarkable progress since the late 1970s. The hard-line communists that have held China back are in retreat. The country now stands ready to take on the challenge of political reform. Our responsibility is to help China move forward.

What policies should we pursue?

- Link China's most-favored-nation trade status to Beijing's record on human rights.
- Place Beijing's treatment of political prisoners and policies toward Tibet at the top of the U.S.-Chinese agenda.
- Ban imports of Chinese goods produced by prison labor.
- Require that U.S. companies operating in China take steps to protect the fundamental human and civil rights of their employees.
- Encourage democratic reform in Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

Our most trustworthy allies and trading partners — the countries of Western Europe, Japan, and Canada — are nations that share our commitment to democratic values and human rights. After World War II, the world's leading democracies joined together to stand up to the menace of Soviet communism. The alliance held together for four decades largely because its members were united by the acceptance of a common political system. The United States may be able to avoid conflict with a non-democratic government in Beijing, but we cannot expect to enjoy close relations until China enters the community of democratic nations.

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PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Implanting the values of democracy and human rights in China will strengthen the cause for reform throughout the world, especially in East Asia.

2. Supporting China's reformers now will cement our ties to a generation that sooner or later will rise to prominence in China's government.

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3. Taking a firm stand against Beijing's abuses of human rights and oppression of Tibet will serve as a warning to dictatorial governments around the world.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Using trade policy as a tool to promote human rights will spark an anti-American backlash in countries that do not share our values, especially in East Asia.

2. Restricting Chinese exports to the United States will lead Beijing to raise its own trade barriers against American products, thus allowing our economic competitors to expand their share of the Chinese market at the expense of U.S. companies.

3. Harshly criticizing the Beijing government will cause China to retaliate by blocking U.S. initiatives in the UN and other international organizations.

4. Focusing U.S. policy on promoting democratic reform in China will distract our leaders from the urgent need to contain China's power and influence.

5. Imposing trade penalties on China will punish companies from Taiwan and Hong Kong that have invested heavily in China.

Option 2

Promote Stability and Trade

China is walking on a tightrope. For the coming decades, the world's most populous country will be teetering above a black hole of chaos and turmoil. If China falls, the entire world will be plunged into a period of danger. A breakdown of order in China would lead to a civil war in the heart of East Asia. Tens of millions of refugees would spill over China's borders. The world's major powers would inevitably be sucked into the conflict. China's nuclear arsenal could even be up for grabs. In this time of uncertainty, the United States must take steps to ensure that China safely reaches a future of stability and prosperity.

The United States should act as a helpful guide in China's transition. Our country has a large stake in China's economic health. China is already our fourth-largest trading partner, and the future holds the potential for continued growth. China is a crucial market for American aviation, telecommunications, and other high-tech industries. American consumers benefit from low-cost imports made in China. The importance of our relationship with China demands that the United States proceed with understanding and caution in dealing with Beijing. Trying to impose our values on the Chinese will only spark an anti-American backlash, while attempting to back Beijing into a corner will heighten international tensions and could trigger a crisis inside China that would have worldwide repercussions. Instead, the United States must support China's full participation in the institutions of the international community. We should take measures to strengthen the economic ties between our two countries. As the people of China walk the tightrope of transition, they should know that they can count on our help.

What policies should we pursue?

- Support China's efforts to join the World Trade Organization and encourage China to assume a larger role in other international organizations.
- Allow China to take a gradual approach in resolving its trade differences with the United States.
- Encourage American companies to expand their exports to China by offering loan guarantees and tax breaks.
- Provide foreign aid to help China clean up its air pollution and improve life in the countryside.
- Develop a partnership with China in international efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons, especially in North Korea, and to prevent conflict over the status of Taiwan.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

The history of U.S.-Chinese relations has been marred by misunderstanding and hostility. From the earliest days, the two sides have failed to see each other as equals. The Chinese viewed Americans as uncivilized "barbarians," while Americans looked on Chinese as backward and corrupt. During the first half of the 20th century, the United States missed an opportunity to offer China a way out of turmoil and instability. With the triumph of Mao Ze-dong in China, relations turned confrontational. Circumstances today allow for a fresh start, with the understanding that an equal partnership between the United States and China would benefit both countries.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. China's leaders will reward U.S. cooperation by expanding business opportunities in China for American companies.

2. Building a trusting relationship with Beijing will ensure China's cooperation in the UN and other international organizations.

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3. Promoting China's prosperity and stability will eventually lay the foundations for democratic reform, as has been the case in Taiwan, South Korea, and other East Asian countries.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China and the people of Tibet will allow the government in Beijing a free hand to crush its opponents and give tyrants around the world a green light to crack down against supporters of democracy and human rights.

2. Cooperating with China will result in the restoration of Beijing's past greatness and will come back to haunt us when a Chinese superpower challenges U.S. interests.

3. Lending U.S. support to Beijing's policies will embolden China's leaders to act aggressively in East Asia, especially against Taiwan.

4. Ignoring China's violations of international trade standards will worsen our country's trade deficit with China, rob American companies of their markets, and cost thousands of American workers their jobs.

5. Giving up on democratic and economic reform in China will undercut momentum for reform in other countries, such as Russia and Mexico, that are undergoing important changes.

Option 3

TAME THE DRAGON

China and the United States are on a collision course. In the next twenty-five years, the Chinese economy is on track to achieve one of the fastest growth rates in the world. China may very well overtake the United States in total economic output. With the largest population in the world, expanding military power, and a leadership that is committed to restoring China's past greatness, China is bound to begin flexing its muscles in the international arena. Nearly two centuries ago, the French leader Napoleon warned that the world would tremble when China awoke. Now the United States must prepare to deal with the implications of his prediction.

The United States must take steps to contain China's might. Our country's policy must be grounded on a clear-sighted understanding of China itself. First, we must recognize that China is not going to become a democracy any time soon. The wide gulf that separates our political system from that of China will continue to be a source of friction. Second, China has built up 150 years of resentment against the West. Now that China's leaders have an opportunity to reassert their influence in international affairs, we should expect confrontation, not cooperation, from Beijing. Given this reality, the United States should construct a barrier to Chinese expansion. Our military presence and system of alliances in East Asia must be a top foreign policy priority. Trade must be monitored to ensure that it does not contribute to the modernization of China's military. We may wish for a world of peace and harmony, but reality tells us to keep up our guard.

What policies should we pursue?

- Ban exports of high-tech goods that could contribute to China's military build-up, and lobby our allies to do the same.
- Strengthen our country's long-term commitment to defend Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, and other U.S. allies in East Asia.
- Convince our allies and trading partners to impose penalties on China for exports of nuclear technology and materials.
- Press for the admission of Taiwan to the UN and other international organizations.
- Prohibit imports of goods produced at factories owned by the Chinese army.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

U.S. policy toward the Soviet Union during the Cold War demonstrated that firmness and perseverance pay off in international affairs. For four decades, the United States wove together a network of alliances and maintained a strong military to contain the spread of Soviet communism, especially in Europe. By the mid-1980s, our stand against communist aggression had convinced Soviet leaders that continued confrontation was pointless. Taking the same resolute position toward Beijing today is the best insurance against future international conflict.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Limiting China's military power will reduce the security fears of China's neighbors in East Asia, especially Japan and Russia, and prevent a regional arms race.

2. Identifying China now as a long-term threat to the United States will allow our country's military planners and foreign policy analysts to devise a well-coordinated strategy to respond to the challenge.

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3. Maintaining a strong military presence in East Asia will convince China's leaders that bullying their neighbors is too risky to consider.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Pressuring Beijing will contribute to the breakdown of order in China, triggering an outpouring of tens of millions of Chinese refugees and setting the stage for a dangerous civil war.

2. Restricting exports of technology to China will prompt retaliation from Beijing and leave American companies shut out of the fastest-growing market in the world.

3. Turning our back on democratic reformers in China will undermine democratic movements throughout the world, especially in East Asia.

4. Taking a hostile stance toward China will close the door to Chinese cooperation in controlling the spread of nuclear weapons, addressing global involvement problems, and maintaining peace on the Korean peninsula.

5. Drawing a new dividing line in international relations will ultimately lead to a confrontation between the United States and East Asia.

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Option 4

KEEP OUR DISTANCE

Since the end of the Cold War in the late 1980s, our country's foreign policy boosters have been scrambling to find a new mission to replace our long crusade against Soviet communism. Many of them are turning eagerly to China. The truth is that they are dangerously misguided. China is not the next frontier for democracy, nor is it a boundless market for U.S. exports, nor is it a hostile potential superpower. Rather, China is a poor, struggling country that is far from our shores. It is neither an irresistible opportunity nor a looming threat. In fact, China should not be a leading concern for Americans at all.

The United States must not allow U.S.-Chinese relations to distract our country from the enormous challenges we face here at home. We must resist the temptation to meddle in international affairs that have scant impact on the lives of Americans. Greater involvement in China's affairs will ultimately act as a drain on our nation's resources, while doing little to strengthen U.S. security. If anything, we should take measures to protect American industries from the flood of cheap imports that are produced in China's sweatshops and prisons. Otherwise, we should concentrate our energy on issues that matter most to Americans, such as lowering our budget deficit, reforming the health care system, improving our schools, and reducing crime. The last thing we need is a new set of entanglements abroad.

What policies should we pursue?

- Gradually withdraw U.S. troops from South Korea and Japan.
- Impose trade penalties on China in response to Chinese violations of copyright laws and other international trade standards.
- Raise import tariffs on Chinese products that threaten the economic health of American industries.
- Encourage Japan to increase its foreign aid spending in East Asia and to take the lead in resolving regional crises.

Lessons from U.S. foreign policy

False hopes have often led the United States down the wrong path in our country's involvement abroad. U.S. relations with China in the 19th and early 20th century were clouded by missionaries who imagined that the power of Christianity would transform East Asia and by merchants who saw China as a vast market for American-made goods. Both groups were wrong. Since World War II, naive efforts to establish democratic institutions in Southeast Asia, Latin America, and other poor regions have cost thousands of American lives and billions of dollars. Following the same course in China will inevitably backfire.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Minimizing our involvement in East Asia will allow the United States to lower the defense budget and invest more resources in tackling our problems here at home.

2. Clearing away foreign policy issues from the U.S.-Chinese agenda will give U.S. leaders the opportunity to deal squarely with China's trade violations.

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3. By not entangling ourselves in China's affairs, the United States will avoid becoming the target of blame for future setbacks in China.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Withdrawing from East Asia will leave a vacuum of power in the region that the expansionists in Beijing will eagerly fill.

2. Ignoring developments in China will deprive Chinese reformers of vital support as their country undergoes a critical period of change.

3. Opening up new trade disputes with Beijing will lead to deepening mistrust in U.S.-Chinese relations and ultimately harm American business interests in China.

4. Upsetting the balance of power in East Asia will force our allies in the region, including Japan, South Korea, and Taiwan, to increase military spending and possibly develop nuclear weapons.

5. Cutting our ties to East Asia will be viewed internationally as a major defeat for American values and economic interests.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy toward China. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Keep in mind that the beliefs you support most strongly should guide your choice. Rank the options from "1" to "4," with "1" being your first choice.

___ **Option 1: Press for Democratic Values**

___ **Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade**

___ **Option 3: Tame the Dragon**

___ **Option 4: Keep Our Distance**

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements below according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support 3 = Oppose 5 = Undecided
2 = Support 4 = Strongly Oppose

___ Meddling in the affairs of other countries is counter-productive and dangerous.

___ Cooperation among the great powers of the world is essential for global peace and prosperity.

___ Democracy and human rights should serve as the political foundation for all societies.

___ The United States has far more to fear from a weak, unstable China than from a strong, confident China.

___ We will always have to compete with other leading nations for power.

___ Only those countries that share our commitment to human rights and democracy can be counted among our most trustworthy allies.

___ The greatest threats facing the United States are all at home: budget deficits, mediocre schools, crime, and an inadequate health care system.

___ Culture and geography largely determine which countries are enemies of the United States.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, we should not penalize the Beijing government for human rights abuses if our main goal is to expand American exports to China.

Supplementary Documents

Treaty of Peace, Amity and Commerce between the United States and China Signed at Wang Hiya (near Macao), July 3, 1844

The United States of America, and The Ta Tsing [Great Pure] Empire [China], Desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two Nations, have resolved to fix, in a manner clear and positive, by means of a treaty or general convention of peace, amity, and commerce, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed in the intercourse of their respective countries: For which most desirable object, the President of the United States has conferred full powers on their Commissioner Caleb Cushing, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to China; and the August Sovereign of the Ta Tsing Empire on his Minister and Commissioner Extraordinary Tsiyeng, of the Imperial House, a vice Guardian of the Heir Apparent, Governor-general of the Two Kwang, and Superintendent General of the trade and foreign intercourse of the five ports.

And the said Commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers, and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles.

Article I

There shall be a perfect, permanent, universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity, between the United States of America on the one part, and the Ta Tsing Empire on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.

Article II

Citizens of the United States resorting to China for the purposes of,commerce will pay the duties of import and export prescribed in the Tariff, which is fixed by and made a part of this Treaty. They shall, in no case, be subject to other or higher duties than are or shall be required of the people of any other nation whatever. Fees and charges of every sort are wholly abolished, and officers of the revenue, who may be guilty of exaction, shall be punished according to the laws of China. If the Chinese Government desire to modify, in any respect, the said Tariff, such modifications shall be made only in consultation with consuls or other functionaries thereto duly authorized in behalf of the United States, and with consent thereof. And if additional advantages or privileges, of whatever description, be conceded hereafter by China to any other nation, the United States, and the citizens thereof, shall be entitled thereupon, to a complete, equal, and impartial participation in the same.

Article III

The citizens of the United States are permitted to frequent the five ports of Kwanehow, Amoy, Fuchow, Ningpo and Shanghai, and to reside with their families and trade there, and to proceed at pleasure with their vessels and merchandize to and from any foreign port and either of the said five ports, and from either of the said five ports to any other of them. But said vessels shall not unlawfully enter the other ports of China, nor carry on a clandestine and fraudulent trade along the coasts thereof. And any vessel belonging to a citizen of the United States, which violates this provision, shall, with her cargo, be subject to confiscation to the Chinese government.

Article IV

For the superintendence and regulation of the concerns of the citizens of the United States doing business at the said five ports, the government of the United States may appoint consuls, or other officers, at the same, who shall be duly recognized as such by the officers of the Chinese government, and shall hold official intercourse and correspondence with the latter, either personal or in writing, as occasions may require, on terms of equality and reciprocal respect. If disrespectfully treated or aggrieved in any way by the local authorities, and officers on the one hand shall have the right to make representation of the same to the superior officers of the Chinese Government, who will see that full inquiry and strict justice be had in the premises; and on the other hand, the said Consuls will carefully avoid all acts of unnecessary offense to, or collision with, the officers and people of China.

Article V

At each of the said five ports, citizens of the United States lawfully engaged in commerce, shall be permitted to import from their own or any other ports into China, and sell there, and purchase therein, and export to their own or any other ports, all manner of merchandize, of which the importation or exportation is not prohibited by this Treaty, paying the duties which are prescribed by the Tariff herein before established, and no other charges whatsoever.

Article VI

Whenever any merchant-vessel belonging to the United States shall enter either of the said five ports for trade, her papers shall be lodged with the Consul, or person charged with affairs, who will report the same to the commissioner of customs; and tonnage duty shall be paid on said vessel at the rate of five mace per ton, if she be over one hundred and fifty tons burden, and one mace per ton if she be of the burden of one hundred and fifty tons or under, according to the amount of her tonnage as specified in the register, said payment to be in full of the former charges of measurement and other fees, which are wholly abolished. And if any vessel, which having anchored at one of the said ports, and there paid tonnage duty, shall have occasion to go to any others of the said ports to complete the disposal of her cargo, the Consul, or person charged with affairs, will report the same to the commissioner of customs, who, on the departure of the said vessel will note in the port-clearance that the tonnage duties have been paid, and report the same to the other custom-houses; in which case on entering another port of the said vessel will only pay duty there on her cargo, but shall not be subject to the payment of tonnage duty a second time.

Article VII

No tonnage duty shall be required on boats belonging to citizens of the United States, employed in the conveyance of passengers, baggage, letters and articles of provision, or others not subject to duty to or from any of the five ports. All cargo-boats, however, conveying merchandize subject to duty shall pay the regular tonnage duty of one mace per ton, provided they belong to citizens of the United States, but not if hired by them from subjects of China.

Article VIII

Citizens of the United States for their vessels bound in shall be allowed to engage pilots, who will report said vessels at the passes and take them into port; and when the lawful duties have all been paid they may engage pilots to leave port. It shall also be lawful for them to hire at pleasure, servants, compradors, linguists, and writers, and passage or cargo boats, and to employ laborers, seamen, and persons for whatever necessary service for a reasonable compensation to be agreed on by the parties, or settled by application to the consular officer of their government, without interference on the part of the local officers of the Chinese government.

Article IX

Whenever merchant vessels belonging to the United States shall have entered port, the Superintendent of Customs, will, if he see fit, appoint custom-house officers to guard said vessels, who may live on board the ship or their own boats, at their convenience; but provision for the subsistence of said officers shall be made by the superintendent of customs, and they shall not be entitled to any allowance from the vessel or owner thereof; and they shall be subject to suitable punishment for any exaction practiced by them in violation of this regulation.

Article X

Whenever a merchant-vessel belonging to the United States shall cast anchor in either of said ports, the supercargo, master, or consignee, will, within forty-eight hours deposit the ship's papers in the hands of the consul, or person charged with the affairs of the United States; who will cause to be communicated to the superintendent of customs, a true report of the name and tonnage of such vessel, the names of her men, and of the cargo on board; which being done, the superintendent will give a permit for the discharge of her cargo.

And the master, supercargo, or consignee, if he proceed to discharge the cargo without such permit, shall incur a fine of five hundred dollars; and the goods so discharged without permit shall be subject to forfeiture to the Chinese government. But if the master of any vessel in port desire to discharge a part only of the cargo, it shall be lawful for him to do so, paying duties on such part only, and to proceed with

the remainder to any other ports.

Or, if the master so desire, he may, within forty-eight hours after the arrival of the vessel, but not later, decide to depart without breaking bulk, in which case he will not be subject to pay tonnage or other duties or charges, until on his arrival at another port he shall proceed to discharge cargo, when he will pay the duties on vessel and cargo according to law. And the tonnage duties shall be held to be due after the expiration of said forty-eight hours.

Article XI

The Superintendent of Customs, in order to the collection of the proper duties, will, on application made to him through the Consul, appoint suitable officers, who shall proceed, in the presence of the captain, supercargo, or consignee, to make a just and fair examination of all goods in the act of being discharged for importation, or laden for exportation, on board any merchant vessel of the United States. And if dispute occur in regard to the value of goods subject to ad valorem duty, or in regard to the amount of tare, and the same cannot be satisfactorily arranged by the parties, the question may, within twenty-four hours, and not afterwards, be referred to the said consul to adjust with the Superintendent of Customs.

Article XII

Sets of standard balances, and also weights and measures, duly prepared, stamped and scaled, according to the standard of the customhouse at Canton, shall be delivered by the Superintendents of customs to the consuls at each of the five ports, to secure uniformity, and prevent confusion in measures and weights of merchandize.

Article XIII

The tonnage duty on vessels belonging to citizens of the United States shall be paid on their being admitted to entry. Duties of import shall be paid on the discharge of the goods, and duties of export on the lading of the same. When all such duties shall have been paid, and not before, the Superintendent of Customs shall give a port-clearance, and the Consul shall return the ship's papers, so that she may depart on her voyage. The duties shall be paid to the shroffs authorized by the Chinese government to receive the same in its behalf. Duties payable by merchants of the United States shall be received, either in sycee silver or in foreign money, at the rate of exchange as ascertained by the regulations now in force. And imported goods, on their resale or transit in any part of the empire, shall be subject to the imposition of no other duty than they are accustomed to pay at the date of this Treaty.

Article XIV

No goods on board any merchant vessel of the United States in port are to be transshipped to another vessel, unless there be particular occasion therefor; in which case the occasion shall be certified by the Consul to the Superintendent of Customs, who may appoint officers to examine into the facts, and permit the transshipment. And if any goods be transshipped without such application, inquiry and permit, they shall be subject to be forfeited to the Chinese Government.

Article XV

The former limitation of the trade of foreign nations to certain persons appointed at Canton by the government, and commonly called hong-merchants, having been abolished, citizens of the United States engaged in the purchase or sale of goods of import or export, are admitted to trade with any and all subjects of China without distinction; they shall not be subject to any new limitations, nor impeded in their business by monopolies or other injurious restrictions.

Article XVI

The Chinese Government will not hold itself responsible for any debts which may happen to be due from subjects of China to citizens of the United States, or for frauds committed by them: but citizens of the United States may seek redress in law; and on suitable representation being made to the Chinese local authorities through the Consul, they will cause due examination in the premises, and take all proper steps to compel satisfaction. But in case the debtor be dead, or without property, or have absconded, the creditor cannot be indemnified according to the old system of the co-hong so called. And if citizens of the United States be indebted to subjects of China, the latter may seek redress in the same way through the Consul, but without any responsibility for the debt on the part of the United States.

Article XVII

Citizens of the United States residing or sojourning at any of the ports open to foreign commerce, shall enjoy all proper accommodation in obtaining houses and places of business, or in hiring sites from the inhabitants on which to construct houses and places of business, and also hospitals, churches and cemeteries. The local authorities of the two Governments shall select in concert the sites for the foregoing objects, having due regard to the feeling of the people in the location thereof; and the parties interested will fix the rent by mutual agreement, the proprietors on the one hand not demanding any exorbitant price, nor the merchants on the other unreasonably insisting on particular spots, but each conducting with justice and moderation. And any desecration of said cemeteries by subjects of China shall be severely punished according to law.

At the places of anchorage of the vessels of the United States, the citizens of the United States, merchants, seamen, or others sojourning there, may pass and repass the immediate neighborhood; but they shall not at their pleasure make excursions into the country among the villages at large, nor shall they repair to public marts for the purpose of disposing of goods unlawfully and in fraud of the revenue.

And, in order to the preservation of the public peace, the local officers of government at each of the five ports, shall, in concert with the consuls, define the limits beyond which it shall not be lawful for citizens of the United States to go.

Article XVIII

It shall be lawful for the officers of citizens of the United States to employ scholars and people of any part of China without distinction of persons, to teach any of the languages of the Empire, and to assist in literary labors; and the persons so employed shall not, for that cause, be subject to any injury on the part either of the government or of individuals: and it shall in like manner be lawful for citizens of the United States to purchase all manner of books in China.

Article XIX

All citizens of the United States in China, peaceably attending to their affairs, being placed on a common footing of amity and goodwill with subjects of China, shall receive and enjoy, for themselves and everything appertaining to them, the special protection of the local authorities of Government, who shall defend them from all insult or injury of any sort on the part of the Chinese. If their dwellings or property be threatened or attacked by mobs, incendiaries, or other violent or lawless persons, the local officers, on requisition of the consul, will immediately dispatch a military force to disperse the rioters, and will apprehend the guilty individuals, and punish them with the utmost rigor of the law.

Article XX

Citizens of the United States who may have imported merchandize into any of the free ports of China, and paid the duty thereon, if they desire to reexport the same, in part or in whole, to any other of the said ports, shall be entitled to make application, through their Consul, to the Superintendent of Customs, who, in order to prevent fraud on the revenue, shall cause examination to be made by suitable officers to see that the duties paid on such goods, as entered on the custom-house books, correspond with the representation made, and that the goods remain with their original marks unchanged, and shall then make a memorandum in the port clearance, of the goods, and the amount of duties paid on the same, and deliver the same to the merchant; and shall also certify the facts to the officers of customs of the other ports. All which being done, on the arrival in port of the vessel in which the goods are laden, and everything being found on examination there to correspond, she shall be permitted to break bulk and land the said goods, without being subject to the payment of any additional duty thereon. But if, on such examination, the superintendent of customs shall detect any fraud on the revenue in the case, then the goods shall be subject to forfeiture and confiscation to the Chinese Government.

Article XXI

Subjects of China who may be guilty of any criminal act towards citizens of the United States, shall be arrested and punished by the Chinese authorities according to the laws of China: and citizens of the United States, who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul, or other public functionary of the United

States, thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States. And in order to the prevention of all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

Article XXII

Relations of peace and amity between the United States and China being established by this Treaty, and the vessels of the United States being admitted to trade freely to and from the five ports of China open to foreign commerce, it is further agreed that in case at any time hereafter, China should be at war with any foreign nation whatever, and for that cause should exclude such nation from entering her ports, still the vessels of the United States shall not the less continue to pursue their commerce in freedom and security, and to transport goods to and from the ports of the belligerent parties, full respect being paid to the neutrality of the flag of the United States: Provided that the said flag shall not protect vessels engaged in the transportation of officers or soldiers in the enemy's service; nor shall said flag be fraudulently used to enable the enemy's ships with their cargoes to enter the ports of China; but all such vessels so offending shall be subject to forfeiture and confiscation to the Chinese Government.

Article XXIII

The consuls of the United States at each of the five ports open to foreign trade, shall make annually to the respective Governors-general thereof, a detailed report of the number of vessels belonging to the United States which have entered and left said ports during the year, and of the amount and value of goods imported or exported in said vessels, for transmission to and inspection of the Board of Revenue.

Article XXIV

If citizens of the United States have special occasion to address any communication to the Chinese local officers of government, they shall submit the same to their consul, or other officer, to determine if the language be proper and respectful, and the matter just and right; in which event he shall transmit the same to the appropriate authorities for their consideration and action in the premises. In like manner, if subjects of China have special occasion to address the consul of the United States, they shall submit the communication to the local authorities of their own Government, to determine if the language be respectful and proper and the matter just and right; in which case the said authorities will transmit the same to the Consul or other officer for his consideration and action in the premises. And if controversies arise between citizens of the United States and subjects of China, which cannot be amicably settled otherwise, the same shall be examined and decided comfortably to justice and equity by the public officers of the two nations acting in conjunction.

Article XXV

All questions in regard to rights, whether of property or person, arising between citizens of the United States in China shall be subject to the jurisdiction, regulated by the authorities of their own Government. And all controversies occurring in China between the citizens of the United States and the subjects of any other government, shall be regulated by the treaties existing between the United States and such governments respectively, without interference on the part of China.

Article XXVI

Merchant vessels of the United States lying in the waters of the five ports of China open to foreign commerce, will be under the jurisdiction of the officers of their own government, who, with, the masters and owners thereof, will manage the same without control on the part of China. For injuries done to the citizens or the commerce of the United States by any foreign power, the Chinese Government will not hold itself bound to make reparation. But if the merchant-vessels of the United States, while within the waters over which the Chinese government exercises jurisdiction, be plundered by robbers or pirates, then the Chinese local authorities, civil and military, on receiving information thereof, will arrest the said robbers or pirates, and punish them according to law, and will cause all the property which can be recovered, to be placed in the hands of the nearest consul, or other officer of the United States, to be by him restored to the true owner. But if, by reason of the extent of territory and numerous population of China, it should, in any case, happen that the robbers cannot be apprehended, or the property only in part recovered, then the law will take its course

in regard to the local authorities, but the Chinese government will not make indemnity for the goods lost.

Article XXVII

If any vessel of the United States shall be wrecked or stranded on the coast of China, and be subjected to plunder or other damage, the proper offices of government on receiving information of the fact, will immediately adopt measures for their relief and security; and the persons on board shall receive friendly treatment, and be enabled at once to repair to the most convenient of the free ports, and shall enjoy all facilities for obtaining supplies of provisions and water. And if a vessel shall be forced in whatever way to take refuge in any port other than one of the free ports, then in like manner the persons on board shall receive friendly treatment, and the means of safety and security.

Article XXVIII

Citizens of the United States, their vessels and property, shall not be subject to any embargo; nor shall they be seized or forcibly detained for any pretense of the public service; but they shall be suffered to prosecute their commerce in quiet, and without molestation or embarrassment.

Article XXIX

The local authorities of the Chinese Government will cause to be apprehended all mutineers or deserters from on board the vessels of the United States in China, and will deliver them up to the consuls or other officers for punishment. And if criminals, subjects of China, take refuge in the houses or on board the vessels of citizens of the United States, they shall not be harbored or concealed, but shall be delivered up to justice, on due requisition by the Chinese local officers addressed to those of the United States.

The merchants, seamen, and other citizens of the United States, shall be under the superintendence of the appropriate officers of their government. If individuals of either nation commit acts of violence and disorder, use arms to the injury of others, or create disturbances endangering life, the officers of the two governments will exert themselves to enforce order, and to maintain the public peace by doing impartial justice in the premises.

Article XXX

The superior authorities of the United States and of China, in corresponding together, shall do so in terms of equality, and in the form of mutual communication. The Consuls, and the local officers civil and military, in corresponding together, shall likewise employ the style and form of mutual communication. When inferior officers of the one government address superior officers of the other, they shall do so in the style and form of memorial. Private individuals, in addressing superior officers, shall employ the style of petition. In no case shall any terms or style be suffered which shall be offensive or disrespectful to either party. And it is agreed that no presents, under any pretext or form whatever, shall ever be demanded of the United States by China, or of China by the United States.

Article XXXI

Communications from the government of the United States to the court of China shall be transmitted through the medium of the Imperial Commissioner charged with the superintendence of the concerns of foreign nations with China, or through the Governor-general of the Lian Kwang, that of Min and Cheh, or that of the Liang Kiang.

Article XXXII

Whenever ships of war of the United States, in cruizing for the protection of the commerce of their country, shall arrive at any of the ports of China, the commanders of said ships and the superior local authorities of Government, shall hold intercourse together in terms of equality and courtesy, in token of the friendly relations of their respective nations. And the said ships of war shall enjoy all suitable facilities on the part of the Chinese Government in the purchase of provisions, procuring water, and making repairs if occasion require.

Article XXXIII

Citizens of the United States, who shall attempt to trade clandestinely with such of the ports of China as are not open to foreign commerce, or who shall trade in opium or any other contraband article of merchandize, shall be subject to be dealt with by the Chinese Government, without being entitled to any countenance or protection from that of the United

States; and the United States will take measures to prevent their flag from being abused by the subjects of other nations, as a cover for the violation of the laws of the Empire.

Article XXXIV

When the present convention shall have been definitely concluded, it shall be obligatory on both Powers, and its provisions shall not be altered without grave cause; but, inasmuch as the circumstances of the several ports of China open to foreign commerce are different, experience may show that inconsiderable modifications are requisite in those parts which relate to commerce and navigation: in which case, the two Governments will, at the expiration of twelve years from the date of said convention, treat amicably concerning the same, by the means of suitable persons appointed to conduct such negotiation.

And when ratified, this Treaty shall be faithfully observed in all its parts by the United States and China, and by every citizen and subject of each. And no individual State of the United States can appoint or send a minister to China to call in question the provisions of the same.

The present Treaty of peace, amity, and commerce, shall be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the August Sovereign of the Ta Tsing Empire, and the ramifications shall be exchanged, within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if possible.

In Faith Whereof, We, the respective Plenipotentiaries of the United States of America, and of the Ta Tsing Empire, as aforesaid, have signed and sealed these Presents.

Done at Wang Shia, this third day of July, in the year of our Lord Jesus Christ, one thousand eight hundred and forty-four; and of Taoukwang [Emperor of China from 1820-1850], the twenty-fourth year, fifth month, and eighteenth day.

Open Door Note

(The following letter on U.S. policy toward China was issued by Secretary of State John Hay on September 6, 1899, to diplomatic officials of the leading imperialist powers.)

Sir:

The Government of Her Britannic Majesty has declared that its policy and its very traditions precluded it from using any privileges which might be granted it in China as a weapon for excluding commercial rivals, and that freedom of trade for Great Britain in that Empire meant freedom of trade for all the world alike. While conceding by formal agreements, first with Germany and then with Russia, the possession of "spheres of influence or interest" in China in which they are to enjoy special rights and privileges, more especially in respect of railroads and mining enterprises, Her Britannic Majesty's Government has therefore sought to maintain at the same time what is called the "open-door" policy to insure the commerce of the world in China equality of treatment within said "spheres" for commerce and navigation. This latter policy is alike urgently demanded by the British mercantile communities and by those of the United States, as it is justly held by them to be the only one which will improve existing conditions, enable them to maintain their positions in the markets of China, and extend their operations in the future. While the Government of the United States will in no way commit itself to a recognition of exclusive rights of any power within or control over any portion of the Chinese Empire under such agreements as have within the last year been made, it can not conceal its apprehension that under existing conditions there is a possibility, even a probability, of complications arising between the treaty powers which may imperil the rights insured to the United States under our treaties with China.

This Government is animated by a sincere desire that the interests of our citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their so-called "spheres of interest" in China, and hopes also to retain there an open market for the commerce of the world, remove dangerous

sources of international irritation, and hasten thereby united or concerted action of the powers at Peking [Beijing] in favor of the administrative reforms so urgently needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China in which the whole western world is alike concerned. It believes that such a result may be greatly assisted by a declaration by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" in China of their intentions as regards treatment of foreign trade therein. The present moment seems a particularly opportune one for informing Her Britannic Majesty's Government of the desire of the United States to see it make a formal declaration and to lend its support in obtaining similar declarations from the various powers claiming "spheres of influence" in China, to the effect that each in its respective spheres of interest or influence —

First. Will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

The recent *ukase* [decree] of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, declaring the port of Ta-lien-wan open to the merchant ships of all nations during the whole of the lease under which it is to be held by Russia, removing as it does all uncertainty as to the liberal and conciliatory policy of that power, together with the assurances given this Government by Russia, justifies the expectation that His Majesty will cooperate in such an understanding as is here proposed, and our ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg has been instructed accordingly to submit the propositions above detailed to His Imperial Majesty, and ask their early consideration. Copy of my instruction to Mr. Tower is herewith inclosed for your confidential information.

The action of Germany in declaring the port of Kiaochao a "free port," and the aid the Imperial Government has given China in the establishment there of a Chinese custom-house, coupled with the oral assurance conveyed the United States by Germany that our interests within its "sphere" would in no wise be affected by its occupation of this portion of the province of Shantung, tend to show that little opposition may be anticipated from that power to the desired declaration.

The interests of Japan, the next most interested power in the trade of China, will be so clearly served by the proposed arrangement, and the declaration of its statesmen within the last year are so entirely in line with the views here expressed, that its hearty cooperation is confidently counted on.

You will, at as early date as practicable, submit the considerations to Her Britannic Majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs and request their immediate consideration.

I inclose herewith a copy of the instruction sent to our ambassador at Berlin bearing on the above subject.

I have the honor to be, etc.,

John Hay

Joint U.S.-Chinese Communique Issued at Shanghai, 1972

(The three joint communiques issued by the United States and China in 1972, 1979, and 1982 continue to serve as the foundation for U.S.-Chinese relations.)

President Richard Nixon of the United States of America visited the People's Republic of China at the invitation of Premier Chou En-lai of the People's Republic of China from February 21 to February 28, 1972. Accompanying the President were Mrs. Nixon, U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers, Assistant of the President Dr. Henry Kissinger, and other American officials.

President Nixon met with Chairman Mao Tse-tung [Mao Ze-dong] of the Communist Party of China on February 21. The two leaders had a serous talk and frank exchange of views on Sino-U.S. relations and world affairs.

During the visit, extensive, earnest, and frank discussions were held between President Nixon and Premier Chou En-lai on the normalization of relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, as well as on other matters of interest to both sides. In addition, Secretary of State William Rogers and Foreign Minister Chi Peng-fei held talks in the same spirit.

President Nixon and his party visited Peking [Beijing] and viewed cultural, industrial and agricultural sites, and they also toured Hanchow and Shanghai where, continuing discussions with Chinese leaders, they viewed similar points of interest.

The leaders of the People's Republic of China and the United States of America found it beneficial to have this opportunity, after so many years without contact, to present candidly to one another their views on a variety of issues. They reviewed the international situation in which important changes and great upheavals are taking place and expounded their respective positions and attitude.

The U.S. side stated: Peace in Asia and peace in the world requires efforts both to reduce immediate tensions and to eliminate the basic cause of conflict. The United States will work for a just and secure peace: just, because it fulfills the aspirations of peoples and nations for freedom and progress; secure, because it removes the danger of foreign aggression. The United States supports individual freedom and social progress for all the peoples of the world, free of outside pressure or intervention. The United States believes that the effort to reduce tensions is served by improving communications between countries that have different ideologies as to lessen the risks of confrontation through accident, miscalculation or misunderstanding. Countries should treat each other with mutual respect and be willing to compete peacefully, letting performance be the ultimate judge. No country should claim infallibility and each country should be prepared to reexamine its own attitudes for the common good. The United States stressed that the peoples of Indochina should be allowed to determine their destiny without outside intervention; its constant primary objective has been a negotiated solution; the eight-point proposal put forward by the Republic of Vietnam and the United States on January 27, 1972, represents a basis for the attainment of that objective; in the absence of a negotiated settlement the United States envisages the ultimate withdrawal of all U.S. forces from the region consistent with the aim of self-determination for each country of Indochina. The United States will maintain its close ties with and support of the Republic of Korea to seek a relaxation of tension and increased communication in the Korean peninsula. The United States places the highest value on its friendly relations with Japan; it will continue to develop the existing close bonds. Consistent with the Untied Nations Security Council Resolution of December 21, 1971, the United States favors the continuation of the ceasefire between India and Pakistan and the withdrawal of all military forces to within their own territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir; the United States supports the right of the peoples of South Asia to shape their future in peace, free of military threat, and without having the area become the subject of great power rivalry.

The Chinese side stated: Wherever there is opposition, there is resistance. Countries want independence, nations want liberation and the people want revolution — this has become the irresistible trend of history. All nations, big or small, should be equal; big nations should not bully the small and

strong nations should not bully the weak. China will never be a superpower and it opposes hegemony and power politics of any kind. The Chinese side stated that it firmly supports the struggles of all the oppressed people and nations for freedom and liberation and that the people of all countries have the right to choose their social systems according to their own wishes and the right to safeguard the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries and oppose foreign aggression, interference, control and subversion. All foreign troops should be withdrawn to their own countries.

The Chinese side expressed its firm support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their efforts for the attainment of their goal and its firm support to the seven-point proposal of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam and the elaboration of February this year on the two key problems in the proposal, and to the Joint Declaration of the Summit Conference on the Indochinese Peoples. It firmly supports the eight-point program for the peaceful unification of Korea put forward by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on April 12, 1971, and the stand for the abolition of the "U.N. Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea." It firmly opposes the revival and outward expansion of Japanese militarism and firmly supports the Japanese people's desire to build an independent, democratic, peaceful and neutral Japan. It firmly maintains that India and Pakistan should, in accordance with the United Nations resolutions on the India-Pakistan question, immediately withdraw all their forces to their respective territories and to their own sides of the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir and firmly supports the Pakistan Government and people in their struggle to preserve their independence and sovereignty and the people of Jammu and Kashmir in their struggle for the right of self-determination.

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China and the United States is in the interests of all countries;
- both wish to reduce the danger of international conflict;
- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.

Both sides are of the view that it would be against the interests of the peoples of the world for any major country to divide up the world into spheres of interest.

The two sides reviewed the long-standing serious disputes between China and the United States. The Chinese side reaffirmed its position: The Taiwan question is the crucial question obstructing the normalization of relations between China and the United States; the Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government of China; Taiwan is a province of China which has long been returned to the motherland; the liberation of Taiwan is China's internal affair in which no other country has the right to interfere; and all US forces and military installations must be withdrawn from Taiwan. The Chinese government firmly opposes any activities which aim at the creation of "one China, or one Taiwan," "one China, two governments," "two Chinas," and "independent Taiwan," or advocate that the status of Taiwan remains to be determined.

The US side declared: The United States acknowledges that all Chinese on either side of the Taiwan Strait maintain there is but one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. The United States Government does not challenge that position. It reaffirms its interest in peaceful settlement of the Taiwan question by the Chinese themselves. With this prospect in mind, it affirms the ultimate objective of the withdrawal of all US forces and military installations on Taiwan as the tension in the area diminishes.

The two sides agreed that it is desirable to broaden the understanding between the two peoples. To this end, they discussed specific areas in such fields as science technology, culture, sports and journalism, in which people-to-people contacts and exchanges would be mutually beneficial. Each side undertakes to facilitate the further development of such contacts and exchanges.

Both sides view bilateral trade as another area from which mutual benefit can be derived, and agreed that economic relations based on equality and mutual benefit are in the interest of the peoples of the two countries. They agree to facilitate the progressive development of trade between their countries.

The two sides agreed that they will stay in contact through various channels, including the sending of a senior US representative to Peking from time to time for concrete consultations to further the normalization of relations between the two countries and continue to exchange views on issues of common interest.

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations between the United States of America and the People's Republic of China, January 1, 1979

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China have agreed to recognize each other and to establish diplomatic relations as of January 1, 1979.

The United States of America recognizes the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China. Within this context, the people of the United States will maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communique and emphasize once again that:

- Both wish to reduce the danger of international military conflict.
- Neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region or in any other region of the world and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony.
- Neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states.
- The government of the United States of America acknowledges the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China.
- Both believe that normalization of Sino-American relations is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the cause of peace in Asia and the world.

The United States of America and the People's Republic of China will exchange Ambassadors and establish Embassies on March 1, 1979.

Joint U.S.-Chinese Communique, August 17, 1982

1. In the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations on January 1, 1979, issued by the Government of the United States of America and the Government of the People's Republic of China, the United States of America recognized the Government of the People's Republic of China as the sole legal government of China, and it acknowledged the Chinese position that there is but one China and Taiwan is part of China. Within that context, the two sides agreed that the people of the United States would continue to maintain cultural, commercial, and other unofficial relations with the people of Taiwan. On this basis, relations between the United States and China were normalized.

2. The question of the United States arms sales to Taiwan was not settled in the course of negotiations between the two countries on establishing diplomatic relations. The two sides held differing positions, and the Chinese side stated that it would raise the issue again following normalization. Recognizing that this issue would seriously hamper the development of the United States-China relations, they have held further discussions on it, during and since the meetings between President Ronald Reagan and Premier Zhao Ziyang and between Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., and Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua in October, 1981.

3. Respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs constitute the fundamental principles guiding United States-China relations. These principles were confirmed in the Shanghai Communique of February 28, 1972, and reaffirmed in the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations which came into effect on January 1, 1979. Both sides emphatically state that these principles continue to govern all aspects of their relations.

4. The Chinese government reiterates that the question of Taiwan is China's internal affair. The Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued by China on January 1, 1979 promulgated a fundamental policy of striving for peaceful reunification of the Motherland. The Nine-Point Proposal put forward by China on September 30, 1981 represented a further major effort under this fundamental policy to strive for a peaceful solution to the Taiwan question.

5. The United States Government attaches great importance to its relations with China, and reiterates that it has no intention of infringing on Chinese sovereignty and territorial integrity, or interfering in China's internal affairs, or pursuing a policy of "two Chinas" or "one China, one Taiwan." The United States Government understands and appreciates the Chinese policy of striving for a peaceful resolution of the Taiwan question as indicated in China's Message to Compatriots in Taiwan issued on January 1, 1979, and the Nine-Point Proposal put forward by China on September 30, 1981. The new situation which has emerged with regard to the Taiwan question also provides favorable conditions for the settlement of the United States-China differences over the question of United States arms sale to Taiwan.

6. Having in mind the foregoing statements of both sides, the United States Government states that it does not seek to carry out a long-term policy of arms sales to Taiwan, that its arms sales to Taiwan will not exceed, either in qualitative or in quantitative terms, the level of those supplied in recent years since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and China, and that it intends to reduce gradually its sales of arms to Taiwan, leading over a period of time to a final resolution. In so stating, the United States acknowledges China's consistent position regarding the thorough settlement of this issue.

7. In order to bring about, over a period of time, a final settlement of the question of United States arms sales to Taiwan, which is an issue rooted in history, the two governments will make every effort to adopt measures and create conditions conducive to the thorough settlement of this issue.

8. The development of United States-China relations is not only in the interests of the two peoples but also conducive to peace and stability in the world. The two sides are determined, on the principle of equality and mutual benefit, to strengthen their ties in the economic, cultural, education, scientific, technological, and other fields and make strong, joint efforts for the continued development of relations between the governments and peoples of the United States and China.

9. In order to bring about the healthy development of United States-China relations, maintain world peace, and oppose aggression and expansion, the two governments reaffirm the principles agreed on by the two sides in the Shanghai Communique and the Joint Communique on the Establishment of Diplomatic Relations. The two sides will maintain contact and hold appropriate consultations on bilateral and international issues of common interest.

America and the Asia-Pacific Future
Address to the Asia Society by Secretary of State Warren Christopher, May 27, 1994

(The following speech summarizes the Clinton administration's policy toward China and its neighbors in East Asia.)

It is a privilege to speak to America's pre-eminent organization dedicated to forging links across the Pacific.

We are joined in a common endeavor, to help build, with our partners and friends, a New Pacific Community. Our engagement in Asia is essential to the security and well-being of the American people, as well as our friends in the region.

Over the last sixteen months, we have moved the Asia-Pacific region to the center of America's foreign policy agenda. And we have demonstrated to our Asian partners that the United States will exercise its pivotal leadership role in the Asia-Pacific region.

The President has articulated a broad vision and backed it up with important initiatives: hosting the APEC [Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation] leaders meeting last November in Seattle; promoting regional security dialogues including Vietnam, Russia, and China for the first time; launching a set of framework talks with Japan to revitalize our economic relationship; and staunchly supporting the emergence of a democratic Cambodia. We have also maintained our forward-deployed military presence — a key to the region's strategic stability and a foundation for its continued economic success.

This week's headlines dramatically illustrate our commitment to comprehensive engagement in Asia and the building of a New Pacific Community. We have agreed with Japan to move forward with negotiations on the Framework Agreement. We have proposed a third round of negotiations on the nuclear issue with North Korea. We agreed with Vietnam to establish liaison offices in Hanoi and Washington, creating a stronger foundation to pursue the fullest possible accounting for Americans missing in action. And yesterday, of course, the President made a crucial decision concerning our policy toward China [i.e., renewing China's most-favored-nation trading status].

Each of the week's developments is significant in its own right, but they should not be viewed in isolation. The confluence of these major developments reflects the multiple strands of our broad engagement in Asia. Our approach is attuned to the complexities of this dynamic region.

The stability of the Asia-Pacific region is a vital American interest. For fifty years, we have understood that the emergence of a dominant hostile power in Asia would threaten important U.S. allies and, ultimately, America itself. Instability and conflict in Asia would undermine prospects for global economic growth, threaten democracies, and encourage proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

In the last half century, tens of thousands of Americans have died in defense of our interests in Asia. We have built strong alliances with Japan, South Korea, Australia, the Philippines, and Thailand — a democratic core that provides a firm basis for deterring aggression. Thirty-seven thousand U.S. troops bravely stand watch at Korea's 38th parallel — the world's most dangerous fault line.

America's long-standing security ties to the region are matched by our exploding economic and cultural links. Asia has the world's fastest-growing economies. More than 40 percent of American trade is with Asia, supporting almost 2.5 million U.S. jobs. And millions of Asian-Americans retain a special interest in their ancestral homelands.

All Americans also have a stake in supporting democracy and human rights in Asia. We do so because it is consistent with our values as a people and our interests as a nation. States that respect the rule of law at home are more likely to observe the rule of international law abroad, and they are less likely to practice terrorism or to push refugees across borders.

Our commitment to democracy and human rights is neither Occidental nor accidental. We are not imposing an American model; we are supporting a universal impulse for freedom. Last year, that impulse inspired the people of Cambodia, where farmers, monks, and former soldiers risked violence to vote. These authentic voices of Asia are not embracing an alien creed. They are asserting their dignity as human beings.

I believe that history is on the side of freedom. There is a powerful trend toward open markets and open societies. Economic development depends upon the free flow of information; computers are the new vehicles of political expression. The software of freedom will, ultimately, prevail over the hardware of repression.

Asia, today, is in the midst of a remarkable transformation. There is a growing network of constructive relations among most of the region's key states; explosive economic growth; expanding human freedom; and new efforts to foster cooperation on economic and security issues. These achievements can be attributed to the skill, industry, and determination of the peoples of the region. But American engagement can make an even brighter future possible. Our involvement is essential to regional peace, prosperity, and the promotion of freedom.

Our forward-deployed military presence is crucial to a stable regional balance of power. Our lack of imperial ambition makes us a trusted partner. Our technology, capital, and huge market make us a magnet for Asia's economies. And the universal values we embody — freedom, democracy, and the rule of law — make us a beacon for all the peoples of the region.

Virtually all Asian countries welcome and urge our active involvement. They understand that the failure of the United States to remain engaged could threaten these bright prospects, harming their interests and our own.

On three immediate issues, urgent engagement by the United States is clearly central: China's evolution, North Korea's nuclear program, and improving our economic relations with Japan. How each question is resolved will directly affect the security and prosperity of the United States.

As much as any other single factor, China's political, economic, and social transformation will determine whether Asia fulfills its great promise. As you know, the President announced yesterday that the United States will renew China's most-favored-nation trading status while pursuing a broad strategy to promote human rights in China.

The President's decision reflects a comprehensive U.S. strategy of engagement and leadership in the Asia-Pacific. It aims to integrate China into the global community, and not to shut it out. It encourages Chinese cooperation in building a new regional and international order based upon peace and security. And it supports the peaceful development of a more democratic and humane society.

Our relationship with China is important to all Americans. China possesses the world's largest army, a nuclear arsenal, and, not insignificantly, a veto in the UN Security Council. The United States and China share a compelling interest in a stable and secure Asia and a nuclear-free Korean Peninsula. China can contribute significantly and responsibly to global issues such as environmental protection and drug trafficking. China has the world's fastest-growing and third-largest economy. More than 150,000 American jobs are supported by U.S. exports to China, a figure that will grow in years ahead.

When President Clinton took office, the broad consensus on our China policy that had prevailed for nearly two decades no longer existed. Last year, the President restored that consensus with an executive order that enjoyed solid bipartisan support. Since then, we have placed human rights firmly on the agenda with China, while working constructively to address other shared concerns. The executive order and our strategy of diplomatic engagement have achieved positive results. We have established a genuine human rights dialogue with China. And China has fulfilled the mandatory conditions for MFN renewal, namely those relating to emigration and prison labor exports.

With respect to the executive order's five other criteria, the gains China has made did not constitute the "overall significant progress" contemplated by the order. Months ago I pledged that in making my recommendation to the President, I would neither invent nor inflate China's performance. I have not. Although there have been some gains, serious human rights abuses continue in China. These include the arrest and detention of those who peacefully voice their opinions, restrictions on religious freedom, and religious and cultural repression in Tibet.

The President made the correct decision last year in issuing the executive order. A number of Chinese dissidents are free today in part because of the pressure we have exerted. But as the President said yesterday, linking human rights to MFN has taken us as far as it can. It is not likely to yield more progress on human rights.

China is no longer an isolated nation. Today,

millions of Chinese are exposed to Western radio and television. Millions are engaged in trade with other nations in a growing and dynamic private sector. This is a trend that must be encouraged. Few believe that a complete revocation of MFN would improve China's human rights record. We must intensify and broaden our engagement with China if we want to promote change.

Let me make clear that we are not relying on the invisible hand of economics alone to bring about human rights progress. Economic freedom may promote political freedom, but it is not by itself sufficient. That is why the President announced a vigorous new program to advance human rights and democracy in China.

We will work with U.S. business leaders to develop voluntary principles to improve working conditions. We will expand international broadcasting to China through the Voice of America and Radio Free Asia. We will make it a practice to meet with a broad spectrum of Chinese citizens, and to support and work with emerging non-governmental organizations. We will engage other nations and the UN in our efforts to advance human rights. We will maintain the economic sanctions we imposed after the Tiananmen massacre. And we will ban import of munitions from China because of the absence of "overall significant progress" on human rights. Almost a million cheap, semiautomatic rifles came into the United States last year from China. The President's policy will keep them out.

We have focused a brighter spotlight on human rights practices in China. That scrutiny will continue, and our human rights dialogue with China will intensify.

Repression is not a cure for instability. In the long run, political democracy — what Wei Jingheng has referred to as China's "Fifth Modernization" — must accompany economic democracy if China's great experiment is to succeed.

I am convinced our strategy of comprehensive engagement offers the best chance to influence China's development. In that way, we will advance our security, our prosperity, and our values....

Today, developments in Beijing, Pyongyang, and Tokyo dominate our headlines. These events carry profound consequences for America, the Asia-Pacific region, and, indeed, the world. In each of these areas, the Clinton Administration is pursuing a multifaceted strategy of engagement that will most effectively advance the full range of U.S. interests.

At the same time, away from this week's headlines, we continue to pursue a long-term agenda throughout the Pacific region. In July, I travel to Bangkok for the ASEAN [Association of Southeast Asian Nations] Post-Ministerial Conference, to further strengthen our ties with Southeast Asia. I will also participate in regional security dialogues at the ASEAN Regional Forum, an important exercise in preventive diplomacy. And this fall, the ministers and leaders of APEC will convene again, this time in Indonesia to chart the course for expanding economic linkages across the Asia-Pacific region.

American leadership can help build a more hopeful future for all the peoples of the Asia-Pacific. It can help reduce the prospect of war and the proliferation of nuclear weapons. It can help ensure that America shares fully in the region's prosperity, and that the people of Asia share fully in the global movement to freedom.

Suggested Reading

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Publications List

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China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response is part of a continuing series on public policy issues. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly.

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About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

The relationship between the United States and China has been marked by ambivalence and misunderstanding from the outset. The Chinese characters that are used to represent the United States literally mean "beautiful country," and yet Chinese leaders have long been baffled by American values and culture. Likewise, generations of U.S. officials have been frustrated by what they see as the dissemblance and opacity of their Chinese counterparts.

Today, as in the past, U.S.-Chinese relations remain clouded by misperceptions. What has changed, however, is China's position in the world. The remarkable transformation that China has undergone since the late 1970s has vaulted the world's most populous country to the top of the U.S. foreign policy agenda. China is on track to become the world's largest economy early in the 21st century and is rapidly building up its military strength. At the same time, the social, political, and economic forces of China's transition threaten to spin beyond Beijing's control.

China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response presents students with many of the same questions that promise to vex U.S. policymakers for decades to come. At the core of the unit is a framework of four distinct options for U.S. policy toward China. By exploring a wide-ranging spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values underlying specific policy recommendations. The background reading is intended to prepare students to thoughtfully consider the complexities of U.S.-Chinese relations. Part I surveys the history of our country's interaction with China. Part II explores the economic, social, and political dimensions of China's transformation under Deng. Lastly, Part III reviews the most critical issues on the U.S.-Chinese policy agenda today.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The lesson plan opens with a document activity that offers students an insight into the evolution of U.S.-Chinese relations since the mid-1800s. The second day of the lesson plan invites students to reflect on changes in Chinese political values through the analysis of song lyrics. The third and fourth days feature a simulation in which students assume the role of advocates for the four options. Finally, on the fifth day, students consider the implications of their own options for U.S. policy in the context of China's current leadership transition. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

The lesson plan offered in *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* is a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* might fit into your curriculum.

China's Position in the Cold War: During much of the Cold War, China evoked greater fear among Americans than did the Soviet Union. Mao Ze-dong was generally perceived as more reckless and unpredictable than his Soviet counterparts. Moreover, the menace of Chinese communism set the stage for U.S. involvement in both the Korean and Vietnam wars. *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* offers students an opportunity to explore the Chinese dimension of the Cold War equation. The unit calls on students to consider how Mao's communist revolution changed U.S.-Chinese relations and altered the dynamics of international relations. The next step is to reflect on the rapprochement in U.S.-Chinese relations that began when Richard Nixon's visit to Beijing in 1972 opened a new stage of the Cold War and presaged our country's warming relationship with China under Deng Xiao-ping.

Chinese History: As China enters the post-Deng era, students of Chinese history have begun to weigh the current transition in the context of China's dynastic cycles. Many are examining China's rich history for parallels. For example, are there lessons to be learned from the fall of the Manchu (or Qing) dynasty in 1911 or the collapse of the Mings in 1644? Others are asking whether Deng's rule represents the beginning or the end of another dynasty cycle. China's transformation under Deng has also set in motion a wide-ranging discussion about the place of communism in Chinese history. Has China's experience with communism left a lasting impact on the Chinese national character? Were Mao's policies shaped more by communist doctrine or by traditional Chinese forces? *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* helps students draw the connections between China's past and present.

Global Economics: The explosive economic growth of China since the late 1970s has elevated the prominence of East Asia in the world economy. In recent years, East Asia has become a more important destination for U.S. exports than Western Europe. Annual economic growth rates in the region are expected to approach 8 percent over the next decade. *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* examines many of the most relevant economic issues in East Asia. Students are introduced to issues engendered by China's model of economic development. How closely has China followed the example set by the neighboring "Asian tigers"? How did Deng Xiao-ping's strategy of economic liberalization differ from reform efforts in the Soviet Union? What remains of the communist approach to development in light of China's experience? In addition, China's growth raises questions about East Asia's impact on world commodity markets and on the global environment.

International Relations: The growing economic power of East Asia is among the most important developments to take place in international relations since World War II. With the increase in East Asia's economic clout has come concern in the West that the international balance of power is tilting away from the United States and Western Europe. What are the implications of East Asia's rise for international relations in the 21st century? Is China destined to again become the most powerful country in the world? Will our country find itself locked in a clash of civilizations pitting the values of the West against those of Asia? *China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response* invites students to ponder China's role in the world from a long-term perspective.

The History of U.S.-Chinese Relations through Primary Sources

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the attitudes and perceptions that have framed U.S.-Chinese relations.
- Draw connections between historical events and the contents of the three documents under consideration.
- Identify passages in the documents that reflect changes in U.S.-Chinese relations.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read Part I of the background reading (pages 1-11 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part I" (page 4 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Key Documents in U.S.-Chinese Relations" (pages 5-6 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Getting Started — Distribute "Key Documents in U.S.-Chinese Relations." Divide the class into groups of three or four students. Assign each group the task of studying one of the three documents on the worksheet and collectively answering the discussion questions. Emphasize that students should draw on Part I of the background reading to answer the discussion questions.

2. Identifying Key Passages — After the groups have answered the discussion questions, call on students to summarize the key points of each of the three documents. How do the documents reflect the evolution of China's relations with the United States? How did the Treaty of Peace, Amity, and Commerce and the Treaty of Nanjing lay the foundation for the subsequent "unequal treaties" between China and the West? Why was China not a party to Hay's "Open Door" note? Why did the 1972 joint communique represent a critical turning point in U.S.-Chinese relations? What accounts for the intense hostility toward China that prevailed in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s? How did American attitudes toward China shift after 1972?

3. Drawing Connections — Focus discussion on how the documents relate to the central issues of China's relations with the United States in the modern era. How are mutual misperceptions reflected in the documents? Ask students to identify the main stereotypes that shaped Western perceptions of China, and vice-versa. What do the first two documents tell us about Western interests in China in the 19th and early 20th centuries? How had those interests changed by the time of Nixon's 1972 visit to China? Finally, how did the shifting global balance of power influence the development of the three documents? Call on students to assess the position of the United States and China in world affairs at the time each of the three documents was written.

4. Across Political Cultures — Call on students to identity the outstanding values of America's political culture (e.g., individualism, rule of law, consumerism). Invite students to do the same for China's political culture. Ask them to compare the two sets of values. Are the differences more significant than the similarities? Are the contrasts likely to contribute to future conflicts between the United States and China?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading (pages 12-17 of the student text) and complete "Study Guide — Part II" (page 8 of the teacher's guide).

Name:

Study Guide — Part I
The History of U.S.-Chinese Relations

1. Why has the issue of U.S.-Chinese relations taken on greater importance in recent years?

2. Why did the Opium War of 1839-42 mark a turning point in China's relations with the outside world?

3. How did the values and the policies of the United States contribute to the rise of Chinese nationalism?

4. What were the main reasons that the United States made little effort to support the government of Chiang Kai-shek against the communists in the late 1940s?

5. What was the impact of the Korean War on U.S.-Chinese relations?

6. Explain the reasons why Richard Nixon and Deng Xiao-ping each pressed for an improvement in U.S.-Chinese relations in the 1970.

Nixon:

Deng:

Key Documents in U.S.-Chinese Relations

Document #1

Excerpts from the Treaty of Peace, Amity and Commerce signed by the United States and China, 1844

ARTICLE II: Citizens of the United States resorting to China for the purposes of commerce will pay the duties of import and export prescribed in the Tariffs, which is fixed by and made a part of this Treaty. They shall, in no case, be subject to other or higher duties than are or shall be required of the people of any other nation whatever. Fees and charges of every sort are wholly abolished, and officers of the revenue, who may be guilty of exaction, shall be punished according to the laws of China. If the Chinese Government desires to modify, in any respect, the said Tariff, such modifications shall be made only in consultation with consuls or other functionaries thereto duly authorized in behalf of the United States, and with consent thereof. And if additional advantages or privileges, of whatever description, be conceded hereafter by China to any other nation, the United States, and the citizens thereof, shall be entitled thereupon, to a complete, equal, and impartial participation in the same.

ARTICLE XXI: ...citizens of the United States, who may commit any crime in China, shall be subject to be tried and punished only by the Consul, or other public functionary of the United States, thereto authorized according to the laws of the United States. And in order to the prevention of all controversy and disaffection, justice shall be equitably and impartially administered on both sides.

Document #2

Excerpts from the "Open Door" note addressed by Secretary of State John Hay to the government of Britain (and the other imperialist powers), 1899

This Government is animated by a sincere desire that the interests of our citizens may not be prejudiced through exclusive treatment by any of the controlling powers within their so-called "spheres of interest" in China, and hopes also to retain there an open market for the commerce of the world, remove dangerous sources of international irritation, and hasten thereby united or concerted action of the powers at Peking [Beijing] in favor of the administrative reforms so urgently needed for strengthening the Imperial Government and maintaining the integrity of China in which the whole western world is alike concerned. It believes that such a result may be greatly assisted by a declaration by the various powers claiming "spheres of interest" in China of their intentions as regards treatment of foreign trade therein. The present moment seems a particularly opportune one for informing Her Britannic Majesty's Government of the desire of the United States to see it make a formal declaration and to lend its support in obtaining similar declarations from the various powers claiming "spheres of influence" in China, to the effect that each in its respective spheres of interest or influence —

First. Will in no wise interfere with any treaty port or any vested interest within any so-called "sphere of interest" or leased territory it may have in China.

Second. That the Chinese treaty tariff of the time being shall apply to all merchandise landed or shipped to all such ports as are within said "sphere of interest" (unless they be "free ports"), no matter to what nationality it may belong, and that duties so leviable shall be collected by the Chinese Government.

Third. That it will levy no higher harbor dues on vessels of another nationality frequenting any port in such "sphere" than shall be levied on vessels of its own nationality, and no higher railroad charges over lines built, controlled, or operated within its "sphere" on merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of other nationalities transported through such "sphere" than shall be levied on similar merchandise belonging to its own nationals transported over equal distances.

Document #3

Excerpts from the joint U.S.-Chinese communique issued at Shanghai on the occasion of President Richard Nixon's visit to China, 1972

There are essential differences between China and the United States in their social systems and foreign policies. However, the two sides agreed that countries, regardless of their social systems, should conduct their relations on the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-aggression and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. International disputes should be settled on this basis, without resorting to the use or threat of force. The United States and the People's Republic of China are prepared to apply these principles to their mutual relations.

With these principles of international relations in mind the two sides stated that:

- progress toward the normalization of relations between China is in the interests of all countries;
- both wish to reduce the danger of international conflict;
- neither should seek hegemony in the Asia-Pacific region and each is opposed to efforts by any other country or group of countries to establish such hegemony; and
- neither is prepared to negotiate on behalf of any third party or to enter into agreements or understandings with the other directed at other states....

The two sides expressed the hope that the gains achieved during this visit would open up new prospects for the relations between the two countries. They believe that the normalization of relations between the two countries is not only in the interest of the Chinese and American peoples but also contributes to the relaxation of tension in Asia and the world.

President Nixon, Mrs. Nixon and the American party expressed their appreciation for the gracious hospitality shown them by the Government and people of the People's Republic of China.

Questions for discussion

Instructions: Answer the questions below with the other members of your group. Be prepared to share your views with the class.

1. Which historical events set the stage for the document assigned to your group?

2. What were the most important American interests at stake at the time your group's document was written?

3. What does your group's document suggest about China's position in the world at the time the document was written?

4. How did your group's document affect the course of U.S.-Chinese relations?

China's Transformation through Popular M··sic

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the use of music as a medium for expressing political values.
- Compare the political values of the Maoist era with those of today's China.
- Articulate the values and attitudes of fictional characters.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading (pages 12-17 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part II" (page 8 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Clashing Values in Today's China" (pages 9-10 of the teacher's guide).
- "China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective" (page 11 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Discussing the Politics of Art — Distribute "Clashing Values in Today's China" and "China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective" to each student. Explain that totalitarian societies have generally used music and other forms of art to further political goals. Call on students to cite examples of art as propaganda from Nazi Germany, the Soviet Union, or other totalitarian states. Why is freedom of expression viewed as a threat by totalitarian rulers?

2. Analyzing Lyrics — Call on students to review the lyrics of Cui Jian and other rock musicians featured in the "Clashing Values in Today's China" worksheet. Note that Cui has intentionally avoided overt political themes but is nonetheless recognized as a leading voice of Chinese political dissent. Contrast Cui's music with the songs promoted by the government featured on the second page of the worksheet. What values are these songs meant to encourage? How do the lyrics of Cui compare with those of Vietnam-era protest songs in the United States or with politically oriented rap music of today? How do the Maoist-era children's songs compare with those sung by American children?

3. Encouraging Student Dialogue — Instruct students to review the character descriptions in the "China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective" worksheet. Assign the character roles to individual students and ask them to identify the songs that resonate with their assigned characters. Invite students to write additional stanzas to the songs in the voices of their characters. Encourage them to develop a dialogue among the six characters. For example, how would the attitude of the former student protester toward the lyrics of Cui Jian differ from that of the steel worker?

Extra Challenge:

Singapore's former prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, has argued that the societies of East Asia owe much of their recent economic success to the strength of "Asian values." According to Lee, the people of East Asia place greater emphasis on the centrality of the family and respect for authority than their counterparts in the West. How wide is the gap between the values of East Asia and the West? Which values have been most important to the success of our own society?

Homework:

Students should read Part III of the background reading (pages 18-23 of the student text) and complete "Study Guide — Part III" (page 13 of the teacher's guide).

Name:

Study Guide — Part II
China's Transformation

1. Explain the meaning behind Deng Xiao-ping's adage: "It doesn't matter if the cat is black or white, so long as it catches mice."

2. How did Deng's reforms contribute to the rapid growth of the Chinese economy?

3. What features of Mao's economic system continue to be part of China's present-day economy?

4. How did Deng's policies contribute to the rise of China's "grey culture"?

5. What is the meaning behind the portraits of Mao that hang in the homes of many Chinese peasants?

6. Why do many China watchers expect that China will experience a leadership crisis in the coming years?

Clashing Values in Today's China

Cui Jian (pronounced "Tsway Jen") is China's most well-known rock performer and one of the few who mixes politics with his music. In 1981, Cui won a position as a trumpet player in the prestigious Beijing Philharmonic Orchestra, but he was soon attracted to Western rock 'n' roll. After the authorities dismissed him from the Beijing Philharmonic in 1987, Cui recorded his first rock album and quickly gained widespread popularity among China's youth. Below is a collection of lyrics* from Cui's songs.

Eggs under the Red Flag

Money is fluttering in the wind
We have no ideals
The time is now
But who knows what we should do
The red flag is waving
It has no clear direction
Revolution is ongoing
The old men are still in power.

Won't Cover It up Again

My tears won't be for weeping anymore
My smile won't be play-acting again
Your freedom belongs to heaven and earth
Your courage belongs to you.

I've got no money, got no place, just have the past
I've said a lot, thought a lot,
And I have less and less of an idea
I'm not pitiful, and I'm not hateful, because I'm not you
I understand abandonment, and understand irresponsibility
But I've got no way to leave.

I Have Nothing

I've asked tirelessly, when will you go with me?
But you always just laugh at my having nothing
I've given you my dreams,
Given you my freedom
But you always just laugh at my having nothing
When will you go with me?

A Piece of Red Cloth

That day you used a piece of red cloth
To cover my eyes and the sky above us
You asked me what I saw
I said that I saw happiness.

It's Not that I Don't Understand

Looking back I can't tell good from bad
I can't even remember the decades gone by
What once seemed so simple is now unclear
And I suddenly feel the world has no place for me.

Cui Jian has inspired other young musicians to express their frustration through rock 'n' roll. Below are examples of their lyrics.

Garbage Dump, by He Yong

The place where we live
Is like a garbage dump
The people are like insects
Everyone's struggling and stealing
We eat our consciences
And it's ideology that we're spewing out.

Sure, there's a green tree growing
You can smell the flower's scent
The Forbidden City is really pretty
There's even a really great wall
They're throwing on top of a garbage dump.

There's Only Today, by the Tutu Band

All the oppression of the past
I can't bear today!
All the happiness I have today
I know won't be enough for the future!...

What you and I have already felt is the past
What you and I have imagined is the future
There's only today in front of our eyes.

*The lyrics in this exercise are reprinted from *Like a Knife: Ideology and Genre in Contemporary Chinese Popular Music; Popular Media in China: Shaping New Cultural Patterns;* and *New Ghosts, Old Dreams: Chinese Rebel Voices.*

City People, by Chang Kuan

Never tasted rolls made of sorghum
Never drank water from a stone well
Never worn old cloth shoes
Never slept on a *kang* made of stone.

I'm a young person in the city
Exhausted by the crowds streaming by
I'm thirsty for the peace of village life
I need the gentle rays of sunlight
I'm a young person in the city
Exhausted by the crowds of big buildings.

The Official Banquet Song (anonymous)

I'm a Big Official, so I eat and drink, eat and drink
Everyone says I'm a Big Official
So I eat and drink
I can really eat, in I shove it
And I've got the potbelly to prove it
I can really drink, and boy do I love it
Beer, spirits, rice wine,
Love potions, medicinal grog
I drink it all.

In contrast to the confusion and disappointment expressed by Cui and other rock musicians, lyrics written under the rule of Mao Ze-dong were designed to advance the communist revolution. Below are examples of children's folk songs from the Maoist period.

Uncle Ironman

Red little soldier is busy learning to operate the machine
Switched on, the lathe sounds "boom, boom"
I want to be a revolutionary screw
Uncle Ironman is my model.

Military Drills

Red flags are flapping
In military drills, we aim at the target
If the enemies should dare to invade
They will be eliminated, one after the other.

Seesaw

The seesaw
Can be high and low on either side
Let's sit still and hold the handles tight
One side is low and
The other is high
High and low; we laugh "ho, ho"
Unite tightly, coordinate well
The more we play, the more interested we are.

The People's Cow

I am learning agriculture on the farm
Uncle teaches me
How to drive the iron buffalo [tractor]
Learning skills in this vast land
Everyone is eager to be the people's cow.

In recent years, the Chinese government has promoted pop singers who uphold the ideals of the communist revolution in their music. Below are two examples.

The Great Undertaking (anonymous)

The stars shine in the blue sky
The plain is a red bonfire
The hearts of us oil workers face the Party
With deep emotion we're thinking of Beijing.

We want to make that plain like a spring, gushing oil
Bravely working, no fear of shedding blood and sweat
In our hearts thinking of Chairman Mao
When the work is bitter and tiring
It's all the sweeter.

When the air is chill and the ground frozen
We're not afraid of the cold
Warm blood can thaw the freeze
We oil workers are heroic men.

My Beloved Hometown, by Tian Zhen

Oh! Hometown!
Can't kiss the earth of my hometown enough
Can't love my hometown's water enough
I need to use my sincerity and sweat
To turn you into fertile earth and lovely water.

China's Transformation from a Chinese Perspective

Instructions: The character descriptions presented below are designed to introduce you to the public mood of today's China. Each of the characters has a distinct view of the changes that have taken place in China since the late 1970s. In this activity, you will be asked to review the "Clashing Values in Today's China" worksheet and then to respond to the song lyrics from the perspective of one of the roles presented below. You may have an opportunity to develop a dialogue with your classmates to bring out the attitudes and opinions of your assigned character.

1. Peasant from Northern China

You have lived all of your 40 years in northern China's wheat-growing region. In the early 1980s, agricultural reform allowed you and your husband to earn extra income by selling vegetables in a nearby city. In recent years, however, you feel that you have been losing ground economically. The break-up of your collective wheat farm into individual plots has resulted in a shortage of machinery and fuel for planting and harvesting. You also worry that your teenage children are coming under the influence of foreign culture.

2. Private Businessman from Guangdong Province

You are the owner of a small factory that produces shoelaces for China's growing footwear industry. Although you are only 35 years old, you employ more than 150 people and enjoy a comfortable standard of living. Political matters hold little interest for you. Your only request is that government officials allow you to continue making money.

3. Steel Worker from Beijing

You work as a supervisor in a huge state-run steel factory. At age 55, you are old enough to remember Chairman Mao's speeches honoring China's steel workers as heroes of the communist revolution. Your work unit won numerous awards for exceeding production goals. Today, however, the equipment is old and outdated, and your factory is losing money. You feel that China has turned its back on the people who sacrificed the most to advance the communist revolution.

4. Textile Worker from Shanghai

You have been working on an assembly line at a new clothing factory for almost two years, ever since you turned 19 years old. The hours are long and the work is boring, but you cannot quit. In a few more months, you will pay off your debt to the Communist Party boss in your village who arranged for your job. After that, you will be able to send money home to help support your parents. Although life in your village was simpler, your prefer the fast pace of the city. You hope that China will continue to change.

5. Former Student Protester from Central China

You were a student at Beijing University when the democracy movement began in 1989. At the time, you hoped that China was headed toward democratic reform. Since the Tiananmen Square protest, however, you have given up on the prospect of political change. Because of your political involvement, you were expelled from the university. You now make a good living as a television repairman, but you miss your student days.

6. Retired Farm Worker from Southwestern China

You have seen China undergo dramatic changes in your 75 years. Your childhood was a time of hunger, war, and chaos. The victory of the communists brought calm, but government officials soon took away your family's land. The last sixteen years have been the best. Your village has never been so prosperous. Young people today hardly know the meaning of hunger. You cannot understand why so many of them are eager to leave your village for life in the city.

Role Playing the Four Options: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the current debate on U.S. policy toward China.
- Identify the core underlying values of the options.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the options and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part III of the background reading (pages 18-23 of the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part III" (page 13 of the teacher's guide).

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Option" (page 14 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "Expressing Key Values" (page 15 of the teacher's guide) for option groups.
- "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate" (page 16 of the teacher's guide) for committee members.

In the Classroom:

1. Planning for Group Work — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four simulation. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Option Groups — Form four groups of four students. Assign an option to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Option" and "Expressing Key Values" to the four option groups. Inform students that each option group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned option to members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Explain that option groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Option." Note that the option groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Committee Members — The remainder of the class will serve as members of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Distribute "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate" to each committee member. While the option groups are preparing their presentations, members of the Committee on Foreign Relations should develop cross-examination questions for Day Four. (See "Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate.") Remind committee members that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Suggestions:

In smaller classes, other teachers or administrators may be invited to serve as members of the committee. In larger classes, additional roles — such as those of newspaper reporter or lobbyist — may be assigned to students.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the option groups to design a campaign poster illustrating the best case for their options.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Study Guide — Part III
The U.S.-China Agenda

1. What are the main differences in the trade policies of the United States and China?

2. How did Bill Clinton's position on human rights in China change after Clinton became president?

3. Why do U.S. policymakers view China's position as critical in their efforts to control the spread of nuclear weapons worldwide?

4. Why are the Spratly Islands, Hong Kong, and Taiwan potential sources of friction between China and the United States?

5. How is China's economic growth expected to affect the global environment?

Presenting Your Option

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group has been called upon to appear before the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate. Your assignment is to persuade the committee members that your option should be the basis for U.S. policy toward China. You will be judged on how well you present your option.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the option of your group to the Committee on Foreign Relations in a three-to-five minute presentation. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your option and review the background reading to build a strong case for your option. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. *China Expert:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group as to how current developments in China justify the position of your option. Carefully read your option, and then review Part II of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *U.S. Foreign Policy Adviser:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on why your option best addresses the foreign policy challenges facing the United States. Carefully read your option, and then review Part III of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Historian:* Your job is to advise the spokesperson of your group on how the lessons of history justify the position of your option. Carefully read your option, paying close attention to the "Lessons from U.S. Foreign Policy" section, and then review Part I of the background reading. Make sure that your area of expertise is reflected in the presentation of your group spokesperson. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are completed, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the Committee on Foreign Relations. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentations, you should try to identify the weak points of the other options. After all of the groups have presented their options, members of the Senate committee will ask you cross-examination questions. Any member of your group may respond during the cross-examination period.

Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the four options in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values. The opening two paragraphs of your option are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term "values," however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in our civic life as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. For most of our country's existence, the impulse to spread American values beyond our borders was outweighed by the desire to remain independent of foreign entanglements. Since World War II, however, the United States has played a larger role in world affairs than any other nation. At times, American leaders have emphasized the values of human rights and cooperation. On other occasions, the values of stability and security have been stressed.

Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about foreign policy. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values underlying your option. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your option?

   a.

   b.

2. According to the values of your option, what should be the role of the United States in the world?

3. Why should the values of your option be the guiding force for U.S. policy toward China?

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate
Hearing on U.S. Policy toward China

Your Role

As a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate, you consider issues relating to our country's foreign policy. As you know, China's rapid economic growth in recent years has generated both hope and concern about our country's relationship with the world's most populous nation. These hearings will introduce you to four distinct approaches to U.S. policy toward China.

Your Assignment

While the four option groups are organizing their presentations, you should prepare two questions regarding each of the options. Your teacher will collect these questions at the end of Day Four.

Your questions should be challenging and critical. For example, a good question for Option 1 might be:

> *By attaching great importance to human rights, doesn't the United States run the risk that China's leaders might slam the door on all political and economic influences from the outside world?*

On Day Four, the four option groups will present their positions. After their presentations are completed, your teacher will call on you and your fellow committee members to ask questions. The "Evaluation Form" you receive is designed for you to record your impressions of the option groups. Part I should be filled out in class after the option groups make their presentations. Part II should be completed as homework. After this activity is concluded, you may be called upon to explain your evaluation of the option groups.

Role Playing the Four Options: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values that frame the debate on U.S. policy toward China.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on U.S. policy toward China.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (page 18 of the teacher's guide) for the committee members.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — Organize the room so that the four option groups face a row of desks reserved for the Committee on Foreign Relations. Distribute "Evaluation Form" to the committee members. Instruct members of the committee to fill out the first part of their "Evaluation Form" during the course of the period. The second part of the worksheet should be completed as homework.

2. Managing the Simulation — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the option groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion — Following the presentations, invite members of the Committee on Foreign Relations to ask cross-examination questions. Make sure that each committee member has an opportunity to ask at least one question. The questions should be evenly distributed among all four option groups. If time permits, encourage members of the option groups to challenge the positions of the other groups. During cross-examination, allow any option group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit cross-examination following the presentation of each option.)

Homework:

Students should read each of the four options (pages 25-32 of the student text), then moving beyond these options they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts" (page 20 of the teacher's guide) and complete "Your Option Five" (page 21 of the teacher's guide).

Name:

Evaluation Form

Committee on Foreign Relations of the U.S. Senate

Part I

What was the most persuasive argument presented in favor of this option?	What was the most persuasive argument presented against this option?
Option 1	*Option 1*
Option 2	*Option 2*
Option 3	*Option 3*
Option 4	*Option 4*

Part II

Which group presented its option most effectively? Explain your answer.

Tracking China's Future

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate coherent recommendations for U.S. policy toward China based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Critique individual policy recommendations from multiple perspectives.
- Weigh individual policy recommendations in the context of China's current leadership transition.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the four options (pages 25-32 of the student text) and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts" (page 20 of the teacher's guide) and "Your Option Five" (page 21 of the teacher's guide).

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs — Call on members of the Senate committee to share their evaluations of the option groups. Which arguments were most convincing? Which beliefs were most appealing? What were the main threats addressed by each of the options?

2. Applying Multiple Perspectives — Call on students to summarize their own options. Which values are featured most prominently? How would the policies affect the direction of U.S.-Chinese relations? Invite students to critique the options of their classmates from a variety of perspectives. For example, how would an executive at Boeing respond to the options? What about a human rights advocate or an environmentalist? Where would a factory worker in the textile industry stand? Call on students to explain how their assumptions about China's future influenced their options. For example, identify students who feel that Beijing is losing its grip on the country. How do their options reflect their concerns? What about those who think that China is on track for continued economic growth? What approach do they advocate?

3. Superpower Summit — Note that many China watchers eventually expect China to occupy the position on the U.S. foreign policy agenda that was once reserved for the Soviet Union. With that in mind, call on students to predict which issues will dominate summit meetings between U.S. and Chinese leaders twenty years from now. Which new items are likely to be added to the agenda? Which current issues will probably persist into the next century? What will be the main points of contention or areas of cooperation?

Extra Challenge:

Call on students to explore the parallels between China's current situation and the transitions of other countries undergoing dramatic political change, such as Russia, Mexico, and South Africa.

As homework, instruct students to write a letter to a member of Congress or President Clinton on their ideas for U.S. policy toward China. In the first part of the letter, students should present the values and assumptions underlying their viewpoint, while in the second part they should present a coherent set of policy recommendations. Encourage students to explore the local dimension of the debate on U.S. foreign policy. For example, students could be asked to contact organizations that have a deeply rooted interest in U.S. policy toward China. Business groups that promote U.S.-Chinese trade, such as aviation manufacturers and farm bureaus, have voiced their views on this issue. Chinese-American organizations, human rights groups, and friendship societies are also active in the foreign policy arena. In addition, recent decades have witnessed an influx of immigrants, scholars, and students from China.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider four options for U.S. policy toward China. Now it is your turn to look at each of the options from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the options address your concerns and hopes. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages. After you complete this worksheet, you will be asked to develop your own option on this issue.

Ranking the Options

Which of the options below do you prefer? Rank the options from "1" to "4," with "1" being your first choice.

___ **Option 1: Press for Democratic Values**

___ **Option 2: Promote Stability and Trade**

___ **Option 3: Tame the Dragon**

___ **Option 4: Keep Our Distance**

Beliefs

Considering the statements below will help you answer the first three questions of "Your Option Five." Rate each of them according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support 3 = Oppose 5 = Undecided
2 = Support 4 = Strongly Oppose

___ Meddling in the affairs of other countries is counter-productive and dangerous.

___ Cooperation among the great powers of the world is essential for global peace and prosperity.

___ Democracy and human rights should serve as the political foundation for all societies.

___ The United States has far more to fear from a weak, unstable China than from a strong, confident China.

___ We will always have to compete with other leading nations for power.

___ Only those countries that share our commitment to human rights and democracy can be counted among our most trustworthy allies.

___ The greatest threats facing the United States are all at home: budget deficits, mediocre schools, crime, and an inadequate health care system.

___ Culture and geography largely determine which countries are enemies of the United States.

Creating Your Own Option

Your next assignment is to create an option that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one option, or you may combine ideas from two or three options. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft an option that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, we should not penalize the Beijing government for human rights abuses if our main goal is to expand American exports to China.

Your Option Five

Instructions: In this exercise, you will offer your own recommendations for U.S. policy toward China. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding values of your proposal.

1. What values should guide U.S. policy toward China?

2. What issues should our country place at the top of the U.S.-China agenda?

3. What policies should the United States pursue toward China to put your values into action?

4. What are the two strongest arguments opposing your option?

   a.

   b.

5. What are the two strongest arguments supporting your option?

   a.

   b.

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.) Students should read Part III of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part III" as homework.

Day 2: Assign each student one of the four options, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the options. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned options. How do the options differ in their assumptions about the nature of our country's relationship with China and the U.S. role in the world? How would U.S.-Chinese relations change according to the recommendations of the options? Moving beyond the options, ask students to imagine that they have been called upon to advise the president on U.S. policy toward China. What concerns would be at the top of their agenda? Which values should guide the direction of U.S. policy?
Homework: Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts" and "Your Option Five."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option (or, in the case of this unit, Future) groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem-solving. In most cases, this style of instruction and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students.

Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom, facilitating learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Applying Choices to Ability-Grouped Classes

Choices curricula are developed with the majority of high school students in mind. Choices units are not designed solely for students in honors or advanced placement programs. Nor are they designed specifically for students in remedial classes. However, the units are designed to be flexible enough for high school teachers to adapt for *any* classroom, and they have been used successfully in all kinds of classes. The Choices staff places confidence in the ability of teachers to decide which units are best suited for the courses and students they teach. The following suggestions may assist teachers of higher- and lower-ability classes in adapting Choices curricula to meet the needs of their students.

Lower-Ability Classes: It would be a mistake to believe that the Choices approach is too difficult for students in lower-ability classes. Teachers report that, with certain adaptations, Choices units can motivate higher levels of student participation, thinking, and confidence in lower-ability classes. Feedback from classroom teachers indicates that the following strategies lead to success with Choices in these classes:

- Maintain high expectations for student learning and thinking.
- Classes of all abilities do a better job with Choices the second or third time the approach is used. Skills in collaboration, communication, and critical thinking improve with practice.
- Some units are easier than others because the necessary background is particularly accessible. Use one of these first to give the students some experience with the approach.
- To make background readings more manageable, some teachers have students read aloud in class, stopping to discuss or clarify key points. Other teachers substitute shorter readings from the textbook or another source as background reading.
- Key concepts from the background can be explained in a mini-lecture format.
- Students can review and keep track of the important terms in a unit by creating their own glossary for reference throughout the unit.
- An extra day for review of the background, for group preparation, or for the development of individual options can be very worthwhile.

Higher-Ability Classes: Choices units have much to offer students in higher-ability and advanced placement classes. Students are challenged to understand the internal logic of different arguments and to extrapolate from these while playing the role of advocate. Two-week Choices units are especially rich in historical background, and they highlight the complex relationships among nations through many eras. Choices units on historical topics typically include a wealth of primary source documents for students to read and analyze. These documents can help to prepare students in advanced placement classes for the "Document Based Questions" included on advanced placement examinations. Extra challenge assignments are included in many lesson plans, and every Choices unit includes suggestions for additional reading and research.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. A sample Group Project Self-Evaluation is included on page 26. Each student should complete his/her own evaluation as part of the unit. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Group Project Self-Evaluation

1. What did you contribute to this project?

2. List the names of your partners and briefly comment on each person's contributions.

3. What things went well within your group?

4. What problems did you encounter? How did you attempt to resolve these problems?

5. If you had this assignment to do over again, with the same partners, what would you do differently?

6. Overall, what grade do you think your group deserves on this assignment? Explain your response.

Publications List

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula on current and historical international issues, and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Choices materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens. All units incorporate the work of academics and policymakers from a range of perspectives and are classroom tested prior to publication. New units are published each academic year, and all units are updated regularly. For more information, call the Choices Education Project at (401) 863-3155 or visit the Choices Web site at *http://www.brown.edu/Research/Choices/*.

Current Choices

- Shifting Sands: Balancing U.S. Interests in the Middle East (June 1997, 71 pages)
- China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response (Revised Feb. 1996, 77 pages)
- Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role (Revised Nov. 1996, 69 pages)
- U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World (Revised April 1996, 63 pages)
- U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (Revised March 1996, 56 pages)
- Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy (Revised March 1996, 60 pages)
- Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World (Revised March 1997, 68 pages)
- Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy (Revised August 1996, 70 pages)
- Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era (Revised Aug. 1996, 72 pages)
- Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads (Revised Feb. 1997, 68 pages)
- The Role of the United States in a Changing World (Revised Nov. 1995, 44 pages)

Decision Points in History

- A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government (August 1996, 138 pages)
- Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler (Oct. 1996, second edition, 84 pages)
- Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb (July 1995, second edition, 102 pages)
- Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (Oct. 1992, third edition, 68 pages)
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